

GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES AND HOMOGAMY PREFERENCES  
OF COLLEGE GREEKS

By

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This dissertation is dedicated to Dr. Kent Lancaster for believing in me and to Ms. Valeria Foster for inspiring me.

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Greek fraternities and sororities serve as social complements to each other on many college campuses around the nation. An analysis of data from Barron's College Guide revealed that approximately 96% of all four-year, accredited colleges and universities in America that have fraternities also have sororities (and vice versa). However, sororities are not merely fraternities populated with women. Structurally the two groups are very different. Sorority houses typically do not allow alcohol to be stored or consumed inside their walls, nor are men allowed to stay overnight at a sorority house. These presumptions were confirmed in a survey of sorority and fraternity presidents (n=25). Fraternities do not have these restrictive rules because they do not act *in loco parentis* as do sororities. In addition, the Greek system puts conflicting, gendered demands on sorority women that they must continually

negotiate with the help of their sisters who act as social family. Meanwhile the sororities (just like parents) are especially concerned with encouraging "appropriate" (demographically homogamous) love matches between their members and fraternity men. Nearly all sororities have special ceremonies and rituals to celebrate the engagement of a sister. Some sororities recognize lesser forms of commitment to men ("going steady") as well, but typically this is done only if the man is (or was) Greek. A survey of gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences was completed by 1,965 undergraduates (a response rate of 85%) at the University of Florida. Results of logistic regression models indicated that women affiliated with Greek organizations were especially likely to hold traditional gender role attitudes and to prefer homogamous marriages for themselves and other family members. In addition, the best predictor of active Greek membership was a student's preference to date Greeks while proxies for social class (parents' educational attainment and parents' occupations) were not statistically significant predictors. In fact, 80% of all currently active members of fraternities, sororities, and fraternity Little Sister organizations expressed heightened interest in dating Greeks. The findings are explained by the differential association theory and confirm previous research.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### Overview

Gender roles are behaviors which are expected of people based on their biological sex (male or female). The traditional male gender role dictates that boys should play with trucks and toy soldiers, and be permitted--and often encouraged--to engage in acts of physical aggression. Boys should enjoy sports such as football, baseball and basketball. They are expected to be boisterous and dirty.

Meanwhile, the traditional female gender role dictates that girls should behave essentially the *opposite* of boys. Girls should enjoy playing with dolls and miniaturized kitchen appliances. Girls should be quiet and studious. They should enjoy playing hopscotch and jumping rope, but concern with their appearance should take precedence over these activities. Thus girls should not act like boys, and boys should not act like girls.

It is no wonder that these different childhood experiences lead to different behaviors for males and females as adults. Men are taught to desire dominate and control over others. They are socialized to believe that they are to be the

family breadwinner. Their sexual conquests are exalted, and their freedom is unquestioned.

Women on the other hand are expected to be primarily interested in issues regarding marriage and childraising. While most women with children do work in the paid labor force, their work is considered "optional" and may be part-time. However, their unpaid domestic work is largely unnoticed. Women with strong sexual urges outside of marriage are labeled "promiscuous" or "sleazy." But despite the warnings of feminists, most women marry.

When selecting marriage partners, men and women are likely to choose those who are similar to themselves in terms of background characteristics. The resulting pattern is known as homogamy. Certain background characteristics tend to be more important than others. For example, the vast majority of all marriages are between partners of the same race. Religion, while still important, may be losing some significance in mate selection. Other background characteristics which are usually matched include age, education, ethnicity and social class.

One explanation for homogamy is differential association --that is, persons with similar background characteristics are the most likely to meet and get to know one another. Another closely related push toward homogamy is propinquity--or proximity--the fact that persons who do not live in the same area have a very low likelihood of interacting.

Despite the fact that many of today's young men and women--especially those who attend college--are selecting marriage partners from areas outside the neighborhoods where they grew up, homogamy patterns continue. This can be explained partially by residential patterns at universities. Members of Greek organizations stand out as an example of a highly segregated portion of a college campus. In fact, a manifest function of Greek organizations is believed to be the facilitation of intergroup matchmaking with "demographically appropriate" (homogamous) co-eds. This is done through the organization of numerous "mixers" and rituals (particularly for white sororities) that reinforce the importance of obtaining a commitment from a man--particularly if he belongs to a fraternity which should indicate his ability to confer upper-middle class status and a comfortable lifestyle upon his wife and children.

The link between Greek membership and gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences has not been developed yet. Thus this dissertation will explore the gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences of college Greeks (members of fraternities and sororities) at the University of Florida.

#### Plan of Study

This dissertation contains five primary research components:



Component 1. An analysis of data obtained from Barron's Profiles of American Colleges: Descriptions of the College, 20th edition (1994). The data pertain to the existence of Greek organizations on the campuses of 1,500 accredited, four-year colleges and universities in the U.S.

Component 2. An original qualitative outline which describes how sororities act as social families. This outline was based on the author's experiences as a member of a Greek social sorority at another university in the South and enhanced through a series of personal interviews with sorority women at the University of Florida in the Fall semester of 1992.

Component 3. An original qualitative overview of the mixed gender messages given to sorority members. This outline is presented to help readers gain a further understanding of the expectations placed on sorority women.

Component 4. A survey of Greek presidents at the University of Florida. A four-page questionnaire was completed by 53% of the 47 presidents during January and February of 1996. Questions pertained to organizational activities, policies and rituals regarding engagement.

Component 5. A survey of undergraduates at the University of Florida. More than 1,900 undergraduates completed an in-class survey (an estimated 85% response rate). Questions focused on attitudes toward gender roles, childrearing, familism and marriage (including attitudes toward homogenous

unions). The 10-page questionnaire also included extensive demographic items as well as information about the respondent's Greek membership status and preferences toward dating Greeks. Data analysis includes chi-square tables, frequency data and logistic regression models.

#### Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a better understanding of how Greek social sororities function while providing insight into how sorority membership influences gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences. Fraternities will be discussed as well but primarily as a comparison group.

#### Importance of this Study

Studying the gender role attitudes associated with Greek membership is important because sororities and fraternities are an integral part of the social lives of many women and men on college campuses across the nation. Also, a high proportion of America's political and social leaders have been associated with Greek organizations; thus the values emphasized within the Greek system are likely to affect the lives of others outside the organizations.

It is important to study the homogamy preferences for the same reasons. But another significant reason to be concerned with homogamy preferences is that racial integration--particularly interracial marriage--could be a successful way

of creating racial harmony in this country. This could be especially true if those who married interracially were the economic and social elite leaders of America (e.g. Greeks).

It is hypothesized that Greeks will have more conservative gender role attitudes than independents, and that Greeks will have stronger homogamy preferences than independents. Also, there will be evidence presented to support the notion that Greek organizations are "gendered institutions" that perpetuate the sexual "double standard."

But it would be wrong to assume that Greek organizations change the values of their members. Previous research has shown that members are generally more conservative and have different values prior to joining a fraternity or sorority (Wilder et al., 1978). This conforms to the "ambition-achievement" model which posits that social origins produce values which influence attitudes that affect early adult behaviors (Howell, 1981, p. 465). In fact, during four years of undergraduate education, the values of Greeks change as much as the values of independents; however, the Greeks are more conservative during their freshman year than independents and this gap remains throughout college. Nonetheless, sororities and fraternities may help to reinforce conservative values through activities, rituals and membership selection.

And, finally, it is important to study Greek organizations because they have tax-exempt statuses based on their close association with higher education. Thus all

taxpayers are indirectly subsidizing Greek organizations and have a right to know what they are supporting.

## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

### Gender Role Socialization

There are four major theories concerning gender role acquisition: psychoanalytic theory (also known as biological or identification theory), economic theory, social learning theory, and cognitive development theory (which includes gender schema theory).

### Psychoanalytic Theory

The psychoanalytic theory can be summed up in the Freudian phrase: anatomy is destiny. Hence the reasons for differences in behaviors between the sexes is due to biological differences such as hormones, physical differences and biological processes (such as menstruation). Freud asserted that gender roles developed out of biological urges and functions (Wisdom, 1992, p. 72). For example, Freud believed that women should care for infants because woman have mammary glands which produce milk. However in today's world, a man can nurse an infant with a bottle--which may in fact contain breast milk extracted from a woman's breast by a breast pump.

An important component of psychoanalytic theory involves a child's identification with the same-sex parent which leads to the child becoming sex typed. This identification results from a child's realization of physical differences between male and female genitalia. A major criticism of identification, however, is that it represents gender as something which is acquired early and remains unchangeable. This implies that individuals cannot continue to learn from their experiences and modify themselves accordingly (Renzetti and Curran, 1992, p. 59).

Freud theorized that during the phallic stage of life (which follows the oral and anal stages which both sexes experience in the same manner), boys and girls begin to have different experiences (Renzetti and Curran, 1992, pp. 58-59). For boys, the phallic stage centers on castration anxiety. Freud contended that it is normal for a young boy to view his father as a rival for his mother's love and to fear that his father will remove his penis just as his father must have done to his mother. The phallic stage for girls involves penis envy which begins the moment a girl realizes that she does not have a penis and believes that having a penis would be beneficial. According to Freud, a girl believes she has been castrated and becomes jealous of boys. She overlooks her mother in favor of her father since he has a penis. In time she realizes that she may have a penis "briefly through intercourse and symbolically

by having a baby, especially a baby boy" (Renzetti and Curran, 1992, p. 59).

Although there are many differences between the sexes which have been noted through the years--such as males having both an X and Y chromosome and females have instead two X chromosomes--*there is no conclusive evidence as to how these biological differences affect gender roles*. However, research on macaque monkeys (Harlow, 1962; as cited in Kovach, 1990, p. 53) has shown that they exhibit behaviors based on sex. Jensen and Bobbitt (1968; as cited in Kovach, 1990; pp. 52-53) studied rhesus monkeys and found that during the very first months of life, male monkeys are much more aggressive than female monkeys. Harlow concluded that "sex behaviors differ in larger part because of genetic factors (rather than cultural factors)" (p. 53).

Harlow's conclusion was challenged by Money and Ehrhardt (1972) who studied infant monkeys that grew up in separate cages. These monkeys "failed to develop normal sexual behavior and were hopelessly unable to master the art of copulation even under the tutelage of a cooperative, experienced mate" (Money, 1972, p. 24). Further, the female monkeys raised in isolation had difficulty in becoming pregnant; when they did give birth, they lacked the so-called "maternal instinct."

Other examinations of animal behavior has drawn attention to the great variation of gender roles (Bender and Leone, 1989, p. 41). For example, in lower animals such as fish,

neither parent raises the offspring. However, for birds it is normal to see both parents caring for the young. In mammals, the female is responsible for breast feeding, but often does little more. Some male mammals such as the marmoset carry their offspring at all times (other than when it is suckling).

In addition, a study on persons with chromosome abnormalities revealed that women with XXX chromosomes are not "more feminine" than women with the normal XX chromosomes (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972). Nor were women with XXY chromosomes or just one X chromosome more masculine than women with XX chromosomes. It should be noted that men with XYY chromosomes were not more masculine *per se*, but they tended to be taller than XY men and hence the XYY men may have been treated as being more masculine.

Parsons, a structural-functionalist, argued that biological differences between men and women necessitated this assignment of roles. He asserted that there are two roles that need to be filled within each family. One role is instrumental, and the other is expressive. Parsons believed that men should adopt the instrumental or "doing" role and women should adopt the expressive or "feeling" role so that families would function as they should (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

But biological theories of gender role acquisition have their limitations. As Lerner pointed out (1986, p. 29), sociobiologists have forgotten that men and women in the U.S.



(and most of the world) "do not live in a state of nature." Thus to describe gender roles as natural seems farfetched.

The psychoanalytic theory of gender role acquisition would be used to describe sororities and fraternities as functional institutions which are concerned with fulfilling members' biological needs in regard to mate selection. While this theory may make sense from a man's perspective (men with college educations make better husbands), it doesn't make sense from a woman's perspective (women who attend college are pursuing careers in addition to--or instead of--childraising and husband nurturing).

#### Social Learning Theory

The social learning theory is a modification of behaviorism or reinforcement theory because it includes rewards and punishments which may include symbols, anticipation of consequences and observation. This theory posits that children *model* their behavior according to observation, imitation and feedback (Strong and Devault, 1992, p. 94). Thus behavior patterns are developed by positive and negative reinforcement from the social environment (Mischel, 1966).

Hence boys learn they will be rewarded for acting like boys, and punished for acting like girls, while girls learn they will be rewarded for acting like girls and punished for acting like boys. Thus the process of learning gender is

essentially the same as the process of learning table manners, grooming or toilet training (Bandura and Walters, 1963; Mischel, 1966).

In time, children can begin to anticipate the consequences of a behavior and act according to the proper gender role. This internalization process is known as the development of a gender identity (Lindsey, 1990, p. 39).

Learning gender roles through modeling is generally more difficult for boys than girls because young children are usually around their mothers and other female caregivers more than their fathers or male caregivers (Lynn, 1959, 1969). Hence boys learn their gender roles more in terms of what they *shouldn't* do rather than in terms of what they should do. Lynn (1969) posited that the lack of male role models in young boys' lives is what makes the male gender role more inflexible than the female gender role.

The major criticism of the social learning theory is that it regards children as passive (Maccoby and Jacklyn, 1974). The theory further assumes that children are easily controlled by rewards and punishments. In addition, the theory does little to explain how children who live with an opposite-sex parent acquire the appropriate gender role socialization.

The social learning theory perspective would be used to describe sororities and fraternities as institutions which teach their members sex-appropriate gender roles. However, it is unlikely that young men and women ages 17 and older are

gender aschematic. Nonetheless, sororities and fraternities do reinforce the traditional gender roles that students may have learned as children.

### Cognitive Development Theory

The cognitive development theory posits that once children learn that gender is permanent (meaning that girls will always be girls who become women and boys will always be boys who become men), they will independently strive to act like "proper" boys or girls due to an internal need for congruence (Strong and Devault, 1992, p. 115).

During the preschool years, a child will learn to distinguish between sex roles as well as begin to assert sex role preferences. In addition, he or she will behave according to these sex role standards (Weitzman, 1979, p. 4).

Jean Piaget's research on cognitive development laid the groundwork for this gender role acquisition theory. Piaget (1950, 1954) asserted that a child's level of comprehension matures through different stages of development based on interaction with the social and physical environment. Thus the reality of a child is different than the reality of an adult. This theory is different from the social learning theory in that the cognitive development theory posits that a child takes an active role in structuring the world. This is known as self-socialization.

With Piaget's research as his base, Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) applied the cognitive development concepts to gender role acquisition; Kohlberg asserted that children learn their gender roles based on their levels of cognitive development and degrees of understanding of the world. Kohlberg believed that a child organizes his or her reality through his or her self. At age 3, a child understands whether he or she is a boy or a girl, but doesn't understand that all people are either boys (or men) or girls (or women). By age 6, a child can understand that his or her sex will not change. At this point a child's gender identity has been established. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) found that once children achieve their gender role identities they will then behave accordingly.

A major weakness of Kohlberg's research is that he studied only boys (Weitz, 1977). Mackie (1983) further criticized Kohlberg's work for failing to explain the underlying mechanisms of cognitive development *per se* (p. 114).

Researchers have found that as children get older, they become more aware of gender (Coker, 1984), are more likely to identify with adult gender stereotypes (Leahy and Shrik, 1984, p. 289) and prefer to associate with others who are of the same sex (Zuckerman and Sayre, 1982).

An important part of the cognitive development theory of gender role acquisition is the gender schema theory put forth by Sandra Lipsitz Bem in 1981. This theory contains elements

of both the cognitive development and the social learning theories of gender role acquisition. In Bem's own words, gender schema theory (1983, p. 603):

... proposes that sex typing derives in large measure from gender-schematic processing, from a generalized readiness on the part of the child to encode and to organize information--including information about the self--according to the culture's definitions of maleness and femaleness.

Thus gender schema theory posits that children learn sex typing through their own cognitive processes. But unlike the cognitive development theory, gender schema theory goes further to assert that gender schematic processing originates from the sex-differentiated conventions of the social community. Therefore gender schema theory assumes that sex typing is a *learned phenomenon* which implies that it is neither inevitable nor unchangeable.

Prior to Bem's publications which used the phrase "gender schema theory," Bem had a number of articles published on androgyny which form the basis of her gender schema theory. In Bem's androgyny articles she argued that gender is arbitrary in that it is not constrained by physical truths. Thus one's sex is *entirely* a separate matter from one's gender. Bem further asserted that one may *choose* one's own gender (Smith, 1992, p. 16). Margaret Mead's work in Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (1963) appears to lend credibility to this claim in that Mead concluded (p. 313) that "men and

women are capable of being molded to a single pattern as easily as to a diverse one."

Bem asserted that individuals understand society's gender schema which is used as a yardstick to evaluate how well one "measures up" to society's standards and expectations in regard to gender. Although society is insistent upon creating masculine and feminine polarizations for men and women, Bem believes that gender is best described as a *continuum* of traits. Those who are at either end of the continuum (due to their exemplification of highly masculine or highly feminine traits) are highly "sex typed" meaning these individuals have a strong gender role orientation (Spence, 1981, p. 366).

The development of a gender schema is dependent on one's culture. Each culture socializes children to develop "gender lenses" which become embedded in their identity (Bem, 1993, p. 139). Even an adult will rely on his or her gender lenses to "construct an identity that is consistent with [the gender lenses]" (p. 139). This perspective is known as Bem's enculturated lens theory of gender role acquisition.

Bem asserts that throughout life, each culture provides its own "tacit communication" that let its people know "what is important, what is of value, which differences between people and other entities are to be emphasized and which are to be overlooked, which dimensions are to be used in judging how similar or dissimilar people and other entities are in the first place," etc. (Bem, 1993, p. 140). Bem notes that

anthropologist Clifford Geertz asserts that a culture's natives cannot distinguish between their own perspective and that of their culture.

It is likely that sororities and fraternities act as subcultures which provide members with tacit communications in regard to values such as appropriate gender roles, membership selection, homogamy. In regard to homogamy, the opposite sex organizations are implicitly charged with the responsibility of pledging pleasing partners which can potentially lead to homogamous unions. Thus for the sake of the sorority women, the fraternities must seek out handsome men who have promising careers ahead, and for the sake of fraternities, sororities must seek out beautiful women who will make loving wives and mothers.

Based on the research presented on the three theories of gender role acquisition, it appears that the cognitive-development theory as modified by the gender schema theory is the most widely accepted among social scientists today. Bem's assertions that gender is a continuum and that gender is arbitrary and self-selected are intuitively appealing to sociologists who seem to favor whatever is furthest away from a biological explanation of behavior.

However, the gender schema theory is not a perfect explanation of gender role acquisition. For example, gender schema theory downplays the role of socialization by attributing gender role acquisition to individuals (Corsaro

and Elder, 1990); there is controversy surrounding the age at which gender role schemas are developed (Cowan and Hoffman 1986; Kuhn et al. 1978); and some individuals may be aschematic (Skitka and Maslach, 1990).

The cognitive development theory of gender role acquisition would assume that students are taking an active role in building their gender identity. The assumption would be that students have been socialized to understand the "proper" male and female roles, and that as young adults, it is now within their control to shape their own further gender development. This theory provides the most logical framework for explaining the behavior of college undergraduates who are confronted with the decision of whether or not to join a Greek organization.

#### Mate Selection

Mate selection, or assortive mating, is the study of who marries whom (Whyte, 1990, p. 99). During the agrarian stage of development it is common for parents to arrange marriages for their offspring. However, the U.S.--even during its agrarian past--has never had a history of arranged marriage. In fact, parental approval is not always a factor in this day and age (Whyte, 1990).

A marriage partner can only be selected from one's "field of eligibles." These are the persons one actually has the opportunity to meet and assess. Potential mates are filtered



through five restricting factors: 1) proximity, 2) social class, 3) racial/ethnic/religious considerations, 4) attractiveness, and 5) psychodynamic influences (Klimek, 1979).

Proximity. In order to be part of the "field of eligibles" two people must "be in the same place at the same time" (Klimek, 1979, p. 14). People who live in close proximity have a greater chance of meeting than people who do not live near each other (propinquity). The concept of proximity also includes being in the same stage of life as heterosexual matches most often occur between women and men of approximately the same age.

Social class. The social class filter is closely related to proximity. Persons are more likely to meet others who share the same social class. Many upper-middle class families put pressure on their children to attend the "'right' college, be seen with the 'right' people at the 'right' places, and eventually select the 'right' mate from the 'right' family" (Klimek, 1979, p. 17). Pressure too could extend to pledging the "right" sorority or fraternity in an effort to facilitate meeting and marrying the "right" person (see Waller, 1937).

It is important to remember that social class is more than a simple function of income. The concept of social class extends to "family history, socialization skills, occupation, wealth, attitudes, interests and general sophistication about life and the world" (Klimek, 1979, p. 19).

Racial/ethnic/religious considerations. Being of a certain race, ethnicity or religion affects the type of people one will meet. In many cases--particularly in small town settings--people may be stigmatized if they date outside their racial, ethnic and/or religious groups. Also, persons who are racially, ethnically or religiously different may not be found to be appealing since they are perceived to have different backgrounds and values (Klimek, 1979, p. 20).

Attractiveness. Throughout life, people compare themselves to others in terms of physical attractiveness. People tend to associate with those who are equally attractive (Klimek, 1979, p. 22) (other things such as race and social class being equal). Looks are especially important to those who are young, have low self-esteem, have a "macho" personality, and are male (Hatfield and Sprecher, 1986, pp. 122-125).

Psychodynamic influences. The final consideration in mate selection has to do with personal idiosyncracies. Some men prefer blondes while others prefer redheads. Some women prefer hairy chests while others find hairy chests to be a turnoff (Klimek, 1979, pp. 24-25).

### Theories of Marital Choice

There are four theories of marital choice, none of which have received much support when tested by academic scholars. The four theories are as follows:

Psychoanalytic theory. Freud's psychoanalytic theory focuses on early childhood conflict with one's opposite-sex parent. The result of this is that women are drawn to men who are like their fathers and men are drawn to women who are like their mothers. While Murstein (1986) concedes that there may be evidence to support the theory that adults marry others who are similar to their opposite-sex parent, he attributes this to cultural influences and modeling rather than a resolution of an Oedipal complex.

Complementary needs theory. Winch (1958) theorized that couples come together to fulfill each other's needs and to complement the other's personality. For example a man who likes to dominate seeks women who are submissive. It is important to note that Winch believed the complements must occur for the same need. Overall, the research in this area has not supported the complementary needs theory (Murstein, 1986, p. 126).

Stimulus-value-role theory. This three-stage "filter" theory utilizes exchange theory (to be discussed in the following section) in all three steps. During the stimulus stage, physical attractiveness is especially important. Potential partners evaluate each other in this area as well as on other background characteristics such as SES, poise, voice, age, and intelligence. During the second stage--which lasts from the second through seventh contact (approximately)--values are compared. The partners evaluate each other on the

basis of interests, attitudes, beliefs and needs. If all goes well the couple advances to the third and final stage in which roles are envisioned for self and partner. This can be a difficult process to do successfully. A moderate level of support for this theory has been found (Murstein, 1986).

Exchange theory. Some researchers prefer to use the exchange theory apart from the aforementioned theoretical perspectives to explain why individuals select marriage partners. Edwards (1969) listed four important components of exchange theory (as found in Merton, 1941, p. 466):

1. Marriageable persons seek partners who will maximize their rewards from marriage.
2. Persons with equivalent resources are most likely to maximize each other's rewards because each is likely to reject people who have fewer resources.
3. Couples with equivalent resources are more likely to have similar characteristics.
4. Marriages are likely to be homogamous.

In a successful attempt to apply the exchange theory to mate selection, Schoen and Wooldredge (1989) examined age, race and educational patterns of marriage choices in North Carolina and Virginia during 1969-71 and 1979-81. They found that "like marrying like" was the most common pattern. However, women tended to place more emphasis on men's economic characteristics, while men placed more emphasis on women's social characteristics.

Similarly in a study of preferences in mate selection, Buss and Barnes (1986) found that women preferred men who had college educations and who exhibited good earning potentials. Men were primarily concerned with finding a physically attractive mate. Berscheid and Waltster (1974), D.M. Buss (1985), Langhorne and Seccord (1955), and Symons (1979) reported the same findings.

Furthermore, the researchers found that non-black females "married up" with respect to education, although during 1979-81 women's education levels were approaching those of the men. Also, there were significant interactions between a man's higher education and a woman's younger age as well as between a black man's higher education and a non-black woman's race.

The exchange theory posits that people will seek relationships with people who have similar demographic and psychographic characteristics. However, the theory does not adequately explain why someone might "need" someone who is so much like himself or herself (Murstien, 1986, p. 130). But in a capitalist society, even social exchanges are closely evaluated. When characteristics are equally matched, there is perhaps less need to scrutinize the exchange.

#### Homogamy Preferences

According to Robert K. Merton (1941) all societies have a system of marriage which serves to regulate who may marry whom. For example, the universal incest taboo proscribes

marriages between members of the same elementary family unit which thus requires the mate selection process to encompass persons with different backgrounds.

Nevertheless persons whose backgrounds are too dissimilar are not seen as suitable mates either (Merton, p. 361). Thus there is an optimal level of difference which varies among cultures.

Merton used the term "intermarriage" to refer only to marriages in which the spouses were from different in-groups and out-groups *other than their elementary families*. In addition, these different groups are culturally understood to be relevant to mate selection. Marrying outside one's family but still within one's race, class, religion, etc. is termed exogamy; marrying outside not only one's family but outside of established norms as well is termed cacogamy (p. 362).

Gordon (1964) defined "married persons whose religious, racial or ethnic background is or was different from each other's prior to or after their marriage" (p. 1) as having intermarried. Gordon then distinguished between three types of intermarriage: interfaith marriage, interethnic marriage and interracial marriage (1964, p. 1).

Merton acknowledged the role of social structure in determining who will meet and subsequently marry. For example, size of groups, sex composition, age composition, and degree of contact with members of different groups all have an impact on mate selection. Romanzo Adams (1937) may have put it best:

"The larger the group the higher the percentage of intermarriage, irrespective of any sentiment relative thereto" (p. 363).

One notable exception to this theorem is the case of Jewish intermarriage. Although there are many more Protestants and Catholics than Jews in the U.S., Jews have the much lower rates of intermarriage than either Christian group. However, Jewish intermarriage rates are higher in areas where there are fewer Jews and lower in areas where there are higher concentrations of Jews (Thomas, 1966). Nevertheless, the overall rates of Jewish intermarriage are climbing rapidly (Schneider, 1989).

Whether intermarriage is accepted or tabooed, it does not occur randomly. Two major patterns are evident. First, hypergamy is the process of a woman marrying into a higher social class. Conversely, hypogamy is the process of a woman marrying into a lower social class.

Hollingshead (1983) asserted that of all the culturally relevant characteristics, race is the most important. Race has "the strongest, most explicit, and most precise limits on an individual as to whom he [or she] may or may not marry" (p. 621).

Most interracial marriages in this country are not black-white. In fact Wirth and Goldhamer reported in 1944 that 90% of interracial marriages are between whites and non-black racial groups. Also, the bride is more likely than the groom

to be white (Blau and Schwartz, 1982). However, just 1% of all couples in which the wife was under age 25 and who lived in metropolitan areas (more than 250,000 people in the SMSA) were racially intermarried in 1970 (Blau and Schwartz, 1982, p. 55). Furthermore, approximately 11% of the metropolitan marriages involved ethnic or national differences, and 25% involved spouses who were born in different regions of the U.S. (Blau and Schwartz, 1982).

These trends have continued into the 1990s. In 1993, the U.S. Census reported that 1,195,000 couples were racially intermarried, up from 964,000 in 1990. However, of these interracial marriages, 77% were between whites and members of "other" races, 21% were between blacks and "other" races, and just 2% were between blacks and whites (Newsweek, Feb. 13, 1995, p. 72).

#### Differential Association Theory of Homogamy

In previous generations, parental pressure was a major factor influencing marital choice. Although young adults ostensibly were free to choose their own mates rather than enter into arranged marriages, the marital partner would be expected to conform to parental expectations in terms of social characteristics such as race, ethnicity, social class and religion. But in today's American society, first marriages are delayed until the mid- to late 20s for both men and women. Presumably parents would have less influence over their



children's decisions by this time. And young men and women are selecting their marriage partners from areas far from the neighborhoods where they grew up. Nevertheless, there is still "the tendency for 'like to marry like (p. 115).'"

Whyte explains this phenomenon by use of the differential association (most commonly used in criminology to explain that deviants associate with those like themselves). Whyte points out that America, the so-called "melting pot," still has many "lumps" or segregated areas in which people with similar background characteristics meet and interact (1990, p. 115). Examples of segregation include "neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, clubs, and other associations that are mainly composed of people of the same social class, ethnic group, race, or religion" (1990, p. 115).

According to Whyte (1990, p. 115):

This extensive social segregation then produces what sociologists call tendencies for 'differential association'--individuals will have many chances to meet and get to know people from backgrounds similar to their own, but relatively few to do so with people from very different backgrounds. As a consequence, when choosing dates and considering marital prospects, it is likely that most of those you know and consider eligible will be from backgrounds similar to your own.

Thus the differential association theory is intimately connected to the notion of propinquity--that only those who are in close proximity are likely to meet. And if two people do not meet, they will not marry (according to American culture which has never had a system of arranged marriages).

Whyte cites that "Some researchers have even suggested that this propinquity tendency works like gravity, with the likelihood of marrying being inversely proportional to the square of the distance between the residences of the two people!" (p. 116). Thus because most Americans have neighbors who have similar demographic characteristics, "propinquity tends to produce marital homogamy" (p. 116).

As an illustration, Whyte gave an example of an "extreme instance" of the "missing Eskimo romance scenario" (p. 116):

It might be the case that, in terms of personality and other factors, the individual most suited to marry Sally Jones of Detroit would be an Eskimo. However, since there are precious few Eskimos living in Detroit, she is never likely to know the romantic pleasures she is missing, and she will probably marry someone who comes from a much less exotic social background.

But "in its pure form," the differential association theory of homogamy does NOT assume that parents or friends or other groups are pushing individuals toward homogamy (p. 116). It could instead be a "[desire] to avoid conflict with 'alien' groups and a wish to 'mix with their own kind' [which plays] a role in explaining why residential, school, and associational segregation occur in the first place" (p. 116).

Whyte notes that once segregation is established, parents and interested others "can afford to be quite 'liberal' and not try to control the dating activities of their offspring" (1990, p. 116). The reason for this is that the chances of

meeting an inappropriate partner are slim because their "field of eligibles" has been restricted to the acceptable mates. Thus outmarriage would be very unlikely (1990, p. 116).

Whyte cited research by Blau and Schwartz (1984) which found that variations in ethnic and religious in-group opinions played a minor role in explaining intermarriage rates in American cities. The biggest factor in intermarriage rates was the proportion of different groups living in a city and the extent of their integration. In cities in which there was high integration, there were higher rates of intermarriage; in cities with high rates of segregation, there were lower rates of intermarriage.

In order to test the differential association theory, Whyte recommends comparing social contacts of individuals prior to marriage. Those who have been exposed to a wide variety of social contacts would be expected to have higher likelihoods of intermarriage, whereas those who had few social contacts with people of dissimilar backgrounds would have lower likelihoods of intermarriage. However, Whyte was disappointed with the results of his study.

Whyte did find that women who had more than one steady boyfriend were more likely to have married heterogamously (in terms of social class, religion and ethnicity) than women who had only one steady boyfriend. Also, women who had more years of dating experience were more likely to marry men from different social classes and with different levels of

education. Also, women who married men who lived further away from them were somewhat more likely to have married men from a different social class. However, a woman's likelihood of entering a heterogamous marriage was not related ( $p>.05$ ) to the circumstances of meeting (such as an introduction by friends rather than the couple meeting on their own), size of the community, neighbor heterogamy, friend heterogamy or number of states she had lived in.

However, sorority women are likely to have many boyfriends and to postpone marriage due to the demands of college. They are likely to live further from home than other women their age. But Whyte's findings suggest that sorority women would be more likely to marry heterogamously than independent women.

Nevertheless, it is presumed that the pressures and social assistance of sororities will overcome the tendency toward exogamy. Also, this study is concerned with homogamy preferences rather than actual marital choice. While Greeks may actually have higher likelihoods of heterogamous unions, they are predicted to prefer homogamous unions--especially in regard to race.

It is important to note that Whyte's sample included a much more diverse sample than that used in this study. In this study, many of the variables are in effect controlled for because the sample includes only college students. Thus Greeks are compared to independents who attend the same public

university and have otherwise similar (middle class) backgrounds. To parallel Whyte's research, this study would have to compare Greeks to people who did not enter college--a very dissimilar group. Therefore, it is logical to hypothesize that Greeks have stronger homogamy preferences than independent college students.

### Black-White Intermarriage

Merton and Davis posited that exchange theory is indeed at work in black-white intermarriage. According to the research, black men who marry white women have high educational and economic positions relative to other black men as well as relative to their white brides. Thus white women can trade their color for the economic security of successful black men. Conversely, white men who marry black women are likely to be members of the lower classes (Monahan, 1976, p. 177).

Known as the Davis-Merton theory, this ideology has not been borne out consistently in research on interracial marriage. For example, using 1960 U.S. Census data, Bernard (1972) found no significant proclivity for wives of black males to be of relatively lower educational attainments if white than if black. She also did not find any evidence that black females had husbands with relatively lower educational attainments if white than if black. But this does not confront the issue of whether or not black males with relatively high

statuses were more likely to have white wives than black males with relatively lower statuses.

Nonetheless, in black-white marriages, the groom is more likely to be black with a white bride. In a study of U.S. Marriage Registration Area for 1963 to 1970, Monahan (1976, p. 230) found that overall 70% of black-white marriages followed this pattern, but in the South, the trend actually was reversed. He also found that in marriages of whites to those of other races, the groom is more likely to be white with a nonblack bride.

Blau and Schwartz (1982) found that income is an important factor in interracial marriage rates. For example, large income disparities between whites and nonwhites translate into even lower rates of intermarriage. However, when economic differences are controlled, racial heterogeneity and intermarriage are positively correlated (p. 57). Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan (1990) found that those who marry interracially tend to be younger, more likely to have been married previously, and to have a considerable age gap from their spouses.

Female outmarriage is higher than male outmarriage for every major racial ethnic group except blacks. (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan, 1990, p. 209) Black men have outmarried more than black women. In 1985, 3.4% (or 143,000) of married black men were married to nonblack women, while only 1.1% (50,000) of married black females married men of other races. In 1994,

there were 296,000 black-white married couples (out of 54,251,000 total married couples) in the U.S. and black men (and white women) remained twice as likely to outmarry as black women (and white men) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995).

In one study of interracial marital stability, Heer (1974) examined at U.S. Census data for all couples in first marriages only who had been married between 1950 and 1960. He then compared these numbers to the number of remaining marriages in 1970 as a percentage of those from 1960. Nearly 90% of the marriages between whites were intact compared with 77.8% of marriages between blacks. However, the numbers for interracial couples were substantially lower: 63.4% of marriages involving a black husband and a white wife were intact compared to just 46.7% of marriages involving a white husband and a black wife.

In addition, region of the country makes a difference too. Intermarriage is least common in the South and highest in the West. (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan, 1990, p. 210) Of course, couples can migrate within the nation as well as marry outside the country before settling in the U.S.

Heer (1974) posited that low rates of black-white intermarriage reinforce social and economic inequality. For example, wealth is passed on from one generation to the next; without white relatives, blacks do not have access to a large portion of the nation's wealth which is controlled by whites. Also, black youths are not sufficiently socialized with white

youths and this prevents blacks from landing jobs in which they are otherwise qualified. In addition, most blacks do not have kinship ties to well-paying unionized manual jobs which are dominated by whites. Thus Heer asserted that increased rates of intermarriage could benefit blacks socially as well as economically.

In regard to attitudes toward black-white marriage, young white women actually have more favorable attitudes than young black women. Paset and Taylor (1991) compared the scaled attitudes of 50 white women and 50 black women between the ages of 18 and 23 and found that white women were extremely favorable toward black-white marriage whereas the black women were extremely unfavorable toward black-white marriage. Perhaps this is because black-white marriage tends to give white women the option of marrying a black man while at the same time taking away eligible partners from black women who have greater difficulty in marrying interracially.

Interracial marriage--which has been legal in some states only since 1967--is still quite rare and even controversial in the U.S. And since fraternities and sororities are conduits for mate selection, it is not surprising that these organizations are still highly segregated. It should be noted that this segregation appears to be an historical artifact which continues today as a voluntary preference (for both whites and blacks).



### Interfaith Marriages

There were approximately 375,000 interfaith married couples in the U.S. in 1989 (Schneider, p. 1-2). In fact, one-third of Jewish marriages contracted in 1989 were between Jews and someone not born Jewish (Schneider, 1989, p. 2). Overall about 5% of Jews are married to Christians, but less than 1% of all Christians are married to Jews (Schneider, 1989, p. 3). Thus outmarriage for Jews is as a threat to the survival of their religious community (Schneider, 1989, p. 4).

In a study of intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics (both Christian religions) from 1955-1989 (Kalmijn, 1991), interfaith marriages between these two groups were becoming increasingly common. The author noted that while religion was becoming less important as a criterion for mate selection, educational homogamy was becoming more important.

There are three theories regarding the declining importance of religion as a variable in mate selection. The first is that American society is becoming increasingly secular. Also, there are fewer differences in behavior between members of various religions in regard to fertility and birth control.

The second explanation is that "third party" marriage brokers are no longer in the business of matchmaking. And the third explanation is that suburbanization and mobility patterns have made it likely that persons will meet others who are of different faiths (Kalmijn, 1991).

Another salient factor is the proportion of similar persons in the immediate area. If someone belongs to a racial or ethnic group which is not well-represented in the area where he or she lives, he or she will be more likely to outmarry (Blau and Schwartz, 1982). Also, some people will consider outmarriage on some categories (religious, for example) while finding other types of outmarriage (racial, for example) to be taboo.

According to Blau and Schwartz (1982, p. 86):

[An] assumption is made, namely, that all people have ingroup biases ... people's ingroup bias is not equally strong for every group to which they belong, and it is most unlikely that many thousands or millions of people have exactly the same preference ranking for the various kinds of ingroups to which they belong.

If members of an underrepresented group do not have strong homogamy preferences they risk assimilation and loss of group identity. This case is perhaps best illustrated with the situation of American Jews. The unweighted odds favor that a Jew or member of another underrepresented group will in fact outmarry (Schneider, 1989). However, when propinquity is taken into consideration, the odds are much greater that one will marry someone of the underrepresented group due to segregation patterns in housing, education and employment (among other categories). Homogamy preferences further reduce the odds of outmarriage. Ironically, homogamy preferences are stronger when the reality of intermarriage is greatest (Thomas, 1966).

CHAPTER 3  
THE HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY OF GREEK ORGANIZATIONS

The Foundations of Fraternities and Sororities

The first college social fraternity, Kappa Alpha Society, was established in 1825 at Union College (Egan, 1985). Greek letters were used as a name because the fraternity was based on the traditions and symbols associated with Greek culture. Specifically, the elements of Greek culture that fraternities wished to stress were excellence; beauty; perfection in the arts; and harmony of mind, body and soul (Dalglish, 1948).

Twenty-six years later, the first college social sorority, Alpha Delta Pi (previously known as the Adelphean Society), was established at Wesleyan Female College in Macon, Ga. Since most college students at this time were men, sororities were organized as a place where women could come together and provide each other with moral support. Sororities provided a way for women to join forces with the male campus leaders. The sororities emphasized "social distinctions and feminine behavior" (Horowitz, 1987, p. 17). In fact, a high proportion of sorority sisters were home economics majors as it was believed that fraternity men would prefer this (Horowitz, 1987, p. 203).

Since these early beginnings, sororities and fraternities have flourished in the U.S. and have spread to other countries (most notably Canada and the Caribbean). Some of the groups--including those at the University of Florida--have predominantly Jewish or African-American memberships. Also, an Hispanic sorority is attempting to colonize at UF. Other specialized groups (on other college campuses) include those with predominantly Lutheran, Catholic, Italian American, Mormon, Asian, Puerto Rican, Hawaiian (Egan, 1985), or even gay ("Gay Fraternity at U. of Nevada Seeks to Shatter Stereotypes and Offer Social Alternatives," 1991) memberships. There is evidence that having separate Greek systems for blacks and whites retards the integration process (Muir, 1991).

Most fraternities and sororities have many chapters as well as a national office. The governing body for the white and Jewish fraternities is the Interfraternity Council (IFC), while the governing body for the white and Jewish sororities is the National Panhellenic Council (NPC). Predominantly African-American fraternities and sororities are governed by the National Pan-Hellenic Conference (NPHC).

The primary goal of the NPC is to mediate relationships between sororities and between the sororities and their respective schools. The NPC asserts that sororities are social experiences which are based on the First Amendment right of freedom of association. Membership in a sorority is by

invitation only. While fulfilling the need to belong, sororities also are to instill in members values that will last a lifetime. The NPC recognizes the importance of having support from parents as well as school administrators in helping them succeed.

One common element that fraternities and sororities share is that of secrecy. According to Georg Simmel, secrecy can connote high values or, at the other extreme, evil. In fact, he asserted that evil cannot exist without secrecy because "No one is so bad that he also wants to seem bad" (Simmel, 1906, p. 463). Secret organizations also are seen as dangerous.

Another common element--exclusivity of membership--is related to secrecy. Greek organizations are highly selective. No one can join without an invitation to do so. Legacies, or blood relatives of former members, are preferred for membership in a particular house as are those who come with recommendations from community leaders or alumni. The process of exclusion serves to create the appearance that Greek organizations are special. Also, the possibility that a member could reveal the secrets of the order serves to strengthen the bonds between members (Simmel, 1906).

Although sororities were created to unite women on predominantly male campuses, they have over the years become heavily influenced by male opinion. Horowitz (1987) asserted that from 1920 to 1965 (and continuing to this day on some campuses) "college women allowed themselves to be bought by

social honors that accrued from their appeal to men, rather than seeking to attain and do in their own right" (pp. 291-292).

Fraternities and sororities have historically facilitated interaction between upper-middle class college men and women--affording easy access to suitable marriage partners. According to Scott (1965, p. 514):

The college sorority, though academically disesteemed is sociologically relevant as an agent of ascriptive groups, maintaining normative controls over courtship which in simpler societies require less specialized expression. Norms of endogamy persist in industrial societies, applying more strongly to women than to men, and being harder to maintain in higher strata. Religion- and class-specific schools provide control, but most students today attend heterogeneous 'public' campuses. Since nubile appeal is high at collegiate ages control by postponing marriage would disadvantage women. Ascriptive control therefore calls for an organization which simultaneously will discourage improper marriage and encourage proper marriage; further it must operate where opportunities and temptations for exogamy and hypogamy are strong and at a physical remove from those most committed to control. This being the theory of the sorority...

Given the traditional emphasis placed on marriage within fraternities and sororities, it is expected that Greeks will have stronger preferences for homogamy than will independents. Also, these preferences are expected to be stronger for members of sororities than for members of fraternities. Furthermore sorority women are expected to be more likely to say they would be disappointed if they would never marry. And because UF is a public school unaffiliated with a particular religion, homogamy should be more salient at UF than on private campuses with religious and/or social class filters.

### Sorority Dating Rituals

Sororities are also known to have a number of traditions surrounding pinning and engagement. Scott (1965) termed these ceremonies and rituals "emotionally potent" (p. 527) and asserted that they tend to "sanctify marriage" (p. 527). For example, a candle-passing ceremony is used to honor a sister who has received a pin or engagement ring from a gentleman. The lights are dimmed, a special song is sung, and a candle with the jewelry attached is circulated around the group for all to admire. The first time around isn't as exciting as the second time around in which the owner of the jewelry blows out the candle to signify that she is the "lucky" sister.

Waller (1937) argued that members of Greek organizations are very aware of the status hierarchy within their system. Thus men from the "best" fraternities date women from the "best" sororities. Waller also found that sorority women are always willing to date higher-status men, but they often feel that it is better to not date than to resort to dating lower-status men. More recent work by Krain et al. (1977) tested Waller's "rating and dating complex" and found that "prestige homogamy" was actually taking place.

Sororities, fraternities and Little Sister organizations are examples of "gendered institutions" (Acker, 1992). They also serve to facilitate dating and eventual marriage between demographically similar individuals. Thus Risman (1982) asserted that sorority women learn that "their success depends

not upon personal achievement in school or sports, but upon their relationship to boys" (p. 240). This dissertation will explore the relationship between membership in Greek organizations and gender roles attitudes and homogamy preferences.

A parallel can be drawn between Greek organizations and the marketing concept of franchising; each chapter is a franchise which must pay fees to its national headquarters. Also, the auxiliary fraternity Little Sister programs can be seen as a brand extension. Thus "going Greek" can be thought of as a gender strategy for doing well in the marriage market. Men and women can affiliate with established "brands" (chapters), but more importantly, they can avoid the social *faux pas* of remaining "generic." Just as most people prefer to purchase branded products (which carry with them a certain level of quality assurance and consistency), it is expected that most students would prefer to date Greeks (for the same reasons of quality and consistency).

#### How a Sorority Functions as a Social Family

Greek social sororities and fraternities are both examples of "primary groups" (Johnson, 1972). The most common example of a primary group is one's biological (or adoptive) family. Cooley defined a primary group as a collection of individuals who have "intimate face-to-face association and cooperation" (Cooley, 1914, pp. 23-24). They also are an



example of "wider families as primary relationships" (Scanzoni and Marsiglio, 1991). Since sororities and fraternities are sexually interdependent and result in blood-like relationships they meet the criteria of social family (Gittens, 1986).

A sorority serves as important reference group for its members and pledges (Risman, 1982). Risman's research focused on analyzing the "day-to-day operation of the sorority system as it affects each member's ideas about herself and her perspective on the world around her" (p. 232). Risman also questioned whether or not a sorority's traditional gender role socialization is still functional--since women often marry into their standard of living (Bernard, 1972)--or anachronistic, as these women are in college to prepare for careers of their own.

Risman asserted that "interaction within a sorority is highly effective in shaping a girl's [sic] self-image." Sisters reported spending almost all of their time sleeping, eating, playing and working with each other or with other Greeks. Since a sorority sister's generalized other is "one highly organized, rational, and normatively conservative audience," the group norms and values become especially influential.

For her research, Risman randomly selected 22 sorority women from a pool of numerous volunteers who attended a large state university (40,000 students) on the West Coast which has a Greek population of 10% (4,000). Risman conducted in-depth

interviews with these women periodically between 1976 and 1979. She also engaged in participant observation for rush (a complex membership selection procedure), fraternity parties, Greek Week, high school recruitment programs and rush fashion shows. In addition, Risman examined 25 undergraduate papers on the topic of sorority life to gain further insight. Risman reported "remarkable consistency" between her findings from the observations, the in-depth interviews and the students' papers.

Most of the women pledged their respective sororities because they wanted to have a good social life (often coded as "meeting people"). She also found evidence that sororities function as social families (p. 235):

[Women] join sororities to belong to a close-knit community in an otherwise overwhelming and alienating university. [Women] going through the membership selection process often mentioned the desire to have a "home away from home." Joining a sorority assures the first-year undergraduate of instant friends of both sexes. Spared, somewhat, the loneliness that accompanies the initial search for acceptance in a new environment, she forgoes the search for a pool of acquaintances from whom she will later choose her friends. Nearly every respondent indicated that most of her friends were in sororities. That large circle of friends, and the ease of their acquaintance, is an oft-cited benefit of Greek life.

Risman found that the sorority sisters do not enjoy the rush process but consider it a "necessary evil" for finding appropriate new members. During this process, sisters perform songs and dances for the rushees in an effort to attract the

"best" women (good-looking, wealthy, socially adept/"most popular," recommended by alumnae. Intelligence, however, was not mentioned as being important). As the sisters entertain them, the rushees also assess whether or not they think they could "fit in."

Rush is an excellent example of a sorority ritual which is designed to promote group solidarity. Rush (the membership selection process) is the best example of such an event as it "pulls the house together" during the membership selection process. Once a pledge class is selected, the pledges may take a retreat to get better acquainted. Similarly living together in crowded bedrooms within the sorority house forces the sisters to learn more about each other (pp. 244-245).

Nevertheless, some of the sisters expressed disappointment with the quality of many of their sorority friendships. Regardless of their feelings for one another, the women tended to describe one another as "catty." They agreed that much "backstabbing" went on as well--particularly where men were involved (pp. 245-246).

This corresponds with Rose Giallombardo's notion of "calculated solidarity." In her study of a women's prison (1966), Giallombardo asserted that a woman's future was (and still is in many situations) heavily influenced by her success in the marriage market. Thus other women are automatically seen as competition. Giallombardo defined "calculated solidarity" (p. 15) as:

A social unity based not on automatic conformity to a set of common social norms perceived to be morally binding, but rather a unity which is subject to constant reinterpretation ... as she perceives each situation from the point of view of her own interests.

One particular aspect of the social family--exchanges of goods and services--is an integral part of any Greek sorority. In her book, All Our Kin (1974), Carol B. Stack describes the exchanges which occur between poverty-stricken blacks which create for them an extended kinship network. Stack explained that participating in the exchange network is of vital importance to the network (pp. 32-44). So, too, with the social sorority. Although sorority women are certainly not poverty stricken, they may have to make do with less than they had when growing up. Even if the women have enough money for food, clothing, shelter, utilities, entertainment and other expenses, they may be in need of "social goods" such as a shoulder to cry on, invitations to parties, and class notes. By exchanging small material gifts and favors (such as rides home, social invitations, greeting cards and birthday presents) sorority women increase their sense of we-ness. This corresponds with Giallombardo's notion of interdependence as an important aspect of the social family.

Today sororities promise to provide an immediate "family life" for incoming freshmen and sophomores. Those who stick with the group for several years would likely feel an increased sense of belonging to the social family.

Based upon the author's experiences in a Greek social sorority at another large state university in the South as well as personal interviews conducted with sorority members at the University of Florida in the Fall semester of 1992, a framework has been constructed which indicates that sororities are indeed structured like a social family as outlined below. Without these elements, a sorority would not be described as a family.

Sense of "we-ness." Sisters are expected to feel a bond between themselves and other members. They refer to the group as "we" as in "We are one of the strongest houses on campus." Sisters have an incredible influence over each other in terms of physical appearance and dress. There is also strong pressure to conform to appearance and behavioral expectations.

Language. Members are *sisters*. (Pledges are pledges.) Fraternity men are *brothers*. A woman has a big sister and possibly one or more little sisters. "Heritage" (as in who is your "big") can play an important role in determining how popular one will be in the group. And there often is a housemother, but she is probably not a vital part of the group. The sisters regard each other as family and discourage sisters from holding grudges. There are also instrumental and expressive leadership positions. The position of president is instrumental and is similar to that of father; the position of vice-president/pledge trainer is expressive and is similar to that of mother; the pledges act as children. From a larger

perspective, national officers act as parents for the actives; they require the sorority to conform to rules which the sisters have no say in such as an alcohol policy or a "no overnight guests" policy.

Thus, the pledge program is a form of *socialization*: pledges are taught what it means to be a member of a particular sorority. The pledge process serves as an introduction to Greek terminology and lifestyle. Pledges must "interview" actives in order to get signatures for their paddles. A good pledge quickly assimilates and makes the sorority the center of her college life. In fact, during the college years, sorority membership will serve as a *master status*. Pledges are given feedback and are expected to change their behaviors (and attitudes) if deemed necessary by the sisterhood. But there is never a guarantee that a pledge will become an active; she must earn that *privilege*.

The house. A large number of sisters live together in a sorority house. These sisters must share household expenses and divide chores. This includes answering others' telephones, sharing clothing and watching television together. Sisters living in-house probably experience more *we-ness* than those living out-of-house. If the sorority doesn't have a house, the sisters may all live on the same dormitory floor. If no sorority housing is available (perhaps when the sorority is in its colony stage), sisters may live together informally in several apartments.

Social exchange. Upon receiving a "bid" (an invitation to pledge), pledges are immediately inundated with gifts. At first these gifts may be anonymous as if coming from the entire sorority. Later, as big sisters are selected, pledges are required to give and receive gifts with their "biggs." Gifts are usually related to the sorority: t-shirts, sweatshirts, drinking glasses, key-chains or picture frames with Greek letters.

A lot of money also changes hands as members pay dearly for the privilege of sisterhood (see Table 3-1). Members are responsible to pay for initiation fees, membership badges, semester dues, room/board or "parlor fees" (for sisters not

Table 3-1: Costs of belonging to a Panhellenic sorority at the University of Florida, 1995.

|                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Formal rush fee         | \$35* (\$50* if mailed late) |
| New member fee          | 70*                          |
| Initiation fee          | 120*                         |
| National dues           | 55                           |
| Sorority membership pin | 125*                         |
| Meal plan               | 550 per semester             |
| Housing                 | 675 per semester             |
| Extras                  | 75                           |

\* One time fees

Other possible expenses include t-shirts, pictures and party favors.

Source: Panhellenic rush brochure, 1995

Note: The Panhellenic sororities have predominantly white and Jewish memberships. National Pan-Hellenic Conference sororities are sororities with an historically African-American membership. Historically African-American fraternities too are directed by the National Pan-Hellenic Conference rather than the Interfraternity Council which represents predominantly white and Jewish fraternities.

living in the house), fines for missing activities, formals and date parties, gifts for little and big sisters, etc. Also those living in-house may split the costs of cable television, local phone bill, and purchasing a refrigerator or microwave for use in their rooms.

Image. Sisters are very concerned with protecting the image of their sorority. For example, if the group decides to accept an invitation to a closed fraternity party (a party in which only the members of one or two sororities are invited to attend), the majority of the sisters are expected to attend. In fact, the sorority may be organized into party groups A, B and C and take turns being *required* to attend parties.

Those not in groups may attend if they wish. Sisters frown on wearing sorority letters if the sister is not well-groomed. Photographs depicting the consumption of alcohol may not be preserved in scrapbooks. Sisters are not supposed to wear letters when drinking at a bar, but they may wear letters when drinking at a fraternity party which they attend as a group. Sisters who quit the sorority may be asked to give up any items they have which are decorated with sorority letters. Pledges are not allowed to wear letters until later in their pledge periods or perhaps not at all.

Conflict. Conflict is very much a part of sororities just as it is an inevitable part of all families. Members struggle over scarce resources: positions of leadership within the



group, fraternity men, bedrooms, rules concerning grades and attendance, etc.

Role strain. Members may experience role strain as they attempt to juggle the demands of the sorority against other demands (school, family, relationships, job, other friends and activities). But the sorority should come *first*.

Interdependence. One may count on her sisters if she needs to borrow clothes or money or if she needs a date for Saturday night. And if one have a talent, she is expected to share it. For example, if one is an artist, it is becomes her responsibility to create posters, banners and t-shirt designs.

Marriage-orientation. Sororities invariably have special ceremonies to perform/songs to sing when a sister becomes engaged. Other rituals may surround being "pinned" or "lavaliered." Fraternities also recognize engagement although in a less serious manner.

Secrets. Sororities invariably have secret handshakes, passwords and rituals which distinguish them from outsiders. Sororities have other types of secrets--that so-and-so was raped, that so-and-so was arrested for shoplifting, that so-and-so is bulimic, that so-and-so had an abortion. Also rush, membership selection and the pledging process are not discussed with outsiders. In addition, sisters enjoy surprising pledges with unexpected activities and gifts. The sisters may set up scenarios in which pledges fear they are

going to experience more trauma than they actually will (hazing).

Jealousy. Sisters get jealous when a sister participates in non-sorority (especially non-Greek) activities. Jealousy may arise when a sister becomes seriously involved with a man --mainly because she will spend less time with the sorority. Also, once a pledge is initiated (becomes a sister), she may not quit the sorority and join another. Even those who de-pledge often must wait a semester or even a year before pledging another sorority. If a woman is in her sophomore year, she would have little hope of finding another sorority to take her because most sororities do not take juniors or can admit only a small number per year.

History. There is an emphasis on learning about the founders and history of one's particular sorority. Pledges are given exams which test their knowledge of names, dates, places, etc. Composites (yearbook-type photos of all the sisters in a particular year) from other eras are displayed prominently on the walls of the house. Songs--official and unofficial--are passed down.

Legacies. Sisters who are blood relatives of current or former members (sister, daughter, granddaughter) receive special recognition. It is important for a potential legacy to try to pledge the same sorority as her relative(s) rather than any sorority even if the young woman is attending a different school. Sororities give extra-special consideration to

legacies during the membership selection process as the active sisters envision how much they would like a relative (particularly a daughter) to one day join the same chapter or sorority. Sororities also welcome recommendations from alumnae who know of "suitable" women who are rushing and are deserving of special consideration as well.

Vacations. Sisters take vacations together, especially at Spring Break. They also spend summers working and living together at the beach. Sisters may travel together to out-of-town, overnight formals as well. The practice is to share a hotel room with a sister (and her date) rather than to seek privacy with your date. The sisters also may have rush retreats in which members return to school a week before rush (or the fall semester) ostensibly to organize their skits and songs, but actually do a great deal of socializing among themselves.

Tolerance. Like kin, sorority sisters are sworn to be sisters--regardless of whether or not they like one another. Sisters are expected to look out for each other (e.g. save old exams for an exam file, walk or drive someone home from a party if they've had too much to drink).

Permanence. It is expected that sisters will associate with their sorority even after they graduate. This could be through writing and visiting sisters, by returning for homecoming, by participating in alumnae associations, or by colonizing new chapters. Sisters are expected to encourage

their future offspring to pledge their sorority. Alumnae continue to receive the sorority's national magazine and local newsletters which keep them informed. An alumna is expected to notify national headquarters with marital status, address changes, births, marriages and similar items for the magazine's "gossip column." These magazines also solicit funds for the official philanthropy and for the sorority's national operating costs. In fact, information and encouragement are provided for those considering to will their estates to the sorority.

#### Differences Between Sororities and Fraternities

Although the fraternities and sororities have much in common--including the sense of creating a social family--it would be wrong to think of sororities as simply fraternities populated by women instead of men. Risman (1982) acknowledged a basic difference between sororities and fraternities: sororities act *in loco parentis* (or as parents would), whereas fraternities do not. Alumnae create rules for sororities which teach traditional gender roles (man are aggressive; woman are pursued). These rules are negatively reinforced by monetary fines and threats of suspension or probation.

Sorority houses are to be elegant, as opposed to fraternity houses which are dirty, messy and poorly furnished as a result of large, wild parties. On some college campuses fraternities have houses but sororities cannot; this is due to

"outdated bordello laws" which dictate that a group of unrelated women living together constitutes a brothel (Sadker and Sadker, 1994, p. 181).

Alcohol must not be brought into a sorority house (even for storage rather than consumption), and social drinking is encouraged over drunkenness for the women attending a fraternity party. Also, men often cannot go above the first floor of a sorority house (even during the day), but women are more than welcome to spend the night at a fraternity house. In addition, a fraternity invites a sorority to their house for a party; for a sorority to initiate contact with a fraternity would be seen as inappropriate or even desperate. And the men pay for the alcohol, food and entertainment for their parties just as a man must traditionally pick up the tab for a date with a woman (pp. 241-243).

According to Scott (1965, p. 515-516):

Sororities are much more than a simple feminine counterpart to the more widespread college fraternity; less variable in their form, they differ from fraternities mainly because marriage is a profoundly more important determinant of social position for women than for men and because the norms associated with marriage correspondingly bear stronger sanctions for women than for men. Though what is called "youth culture" shapes much sorority activity, recruitment, membership, and activities are only narrowly governed by college-age members: effective control rests with parent-age "alumnae."

This passage suggests that sororities and fraternities have structural differences. It is expected that fraternities

allow their house residents to have greater autonomy and control over their lives than sororities permit for their members. This hypothesis was addressed in a survey of Greek presidents at the University of Florida.

### Survey of Greek Presidents at the University of Florida

In order to document the structural and policy similarities and differences between sororities and fraternities, questionnaires were distributed to all the presidents of Greek organizations at the University of Florida in January 1996 (n=47). (The survey and cover letter are in Appendix B.) The response rate for the survey was 53.2%. Examples of the questions included number of members, rituals surrounding pinning and engagement, and restriction of access to their houses. This information provides an appropriate background to frame the undergraduate questionnaire on gender role attitudes and homogeneity preferences.

The data from the survey reflect the responses of 15 of 18 sorority presidents (83.3%) and 10 of 29 fraternity presidents (34.5%). The average number of active sorority

Table 3-2: Number of actives and pledges, 1996 (N=25).

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>n=15 | <u>Fraternities</u><br>n=10 |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Average number of<br>actives | 113.47                    | 80.11                       |
| Average number of<br>pledges | 7.60                      | 11.11                       |

members was 113.47 per chapter with 7.60 pledges while the average number of active fraternity members was 80.11 active members and 11.11 (see Table 3-2).

One of the sororities represented in the survey had a primarily African-American membership, two had primarily Jewish membership, and 12 were predominantly white, non-Jewish. None of the fraternities responding to the surveys had a primarily African-American membership, three had primarily Jewish membership, and 6 had primarily white, non-Jewish membership. One of the fraternity presidents didn't provide information on this variable, but since the fraternity he represented does have a house it is assumed that he does not represent an African-American fraternity as none of the African-American fraternities at UF has a house (Table 3-3.)

Sororities and fraternities participate in a variety of activities (Table 3-4). All of the presidents reported that

Table 3-3: Racial/ethnic breakdown of the Greek organizations represented in the survey of presidents, 1996.

|                   | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=15) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| African-American  | 6.67                        | 0.00                         |
| Jewish            | 13.33                       | 33.33                        |
| White, non-Jewish | 73.33                       | 66.67                        |
| -----             |                             |                              |
| Total             | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Missing           |                             | 1                            |

their organizations participate in events for charity, date functions and formals. The majority of the groups participate in political organizations which often includes involvement in campus politics. The main difference in activities for fraternities and sororities is that only one sorority (the predominantly African-American sorority) holds open parties while 80% of all fraternities have open parties (to which all students--including independents--are welcome to attend).

Fourteen of the 15 sorority presidents (93.3%) reported that they do have some ritualized method of announcing or celebrating the engagement of a sister (Table 3-5).

Table 3-4: Events organized by sororities and fraternities at the University of Florida, 1996.

|                               | <u>% of sororities</u><br><u>that have...</u><br>(n=15) | <u>% of fraternities</u><br><u>that have ...</u><br>(n=10) |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Charity events                | 100.00%   | 100.00%  |
| Political<br>involvement      | 85.71   | 70.00  |
| Parents' weekends             | 93.33   | 90.00  |
| Open parties                  | 6.67  | 80.00  |
| Closed parties<br>("socials") | 85.71   | 90.00  |
| Woodsters                     | 73.33   | 90.00  |
| Date functions                | 100.00  | 100.00   |
| Formals                       | 100.00  | 100.00   |



(Interestingly, the only sorority that did not have a form of announcing or celebrating engagement was the predominantly African-American sorority.) In fact, eight of the sorority presidents specifically mentioned having a candlelight ceremony. This contrasts to 20% of fraternities which do not recognize engagement.

One of the presidents described her chapter's candlelight ceremony:

The sisters join in a circle and sing songs. A candle is passed around the circle three times [for an engagement, twice around for a pin, and just once for a lavalier]. When the candle comes to the sister, she blows it out and tells her story [of how the engagement, pinning or lavaliering happened].

In comparison, 60% of the fraternities mentioned forms of announcing or celebrating the engagement of a brother. Also,

Table 3-5: Methods of recognizing active sisters and brothers who become engaged, 1996.

|                        | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=15) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=10) |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Celebrate/<br>announce | 93.33                       | 60.00                         |
| Tease<br>her/him       | 0.00                        | 40.00                         |
| No traditions          | 6.67                        | 20.00                         |

-----  
Doesn't add to 100.00% because more than one answer could be given.

40% of the fraternity presidents mentioned that the group teases the brother upon engagement (which might be in addition to a form of announcing or celebrating); none of the sorority members mentioned any form of teasing. One fraternity president described a "cigar pass" somewhat similar to the candlelight ritual:

A cigar is passed around a circle of all the brothers. No one knows who has gotten lavaliered, pinned or engaged. Whoever smokes the cigar is the one. We then pick the brother up over our heads, do our cheer, then congratulate him.

Another fraternity president mentioned that his organization teases brothers who are engaged. An example of teasing would be tying up the brother--clad only in his boxers--at his fiancée's sorority house or place of employment.

Table 3-6: Greek organizations which recognize other forms of commitment\* to a significant other, 1996.

|   | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=15) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=10) |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Yes, only if significant other is Greek               | 46.67                       | 0.00                          |
| Yes, regardless of whether significant other is Greek | 26.66                       | 50.00                         |
| No  | 26.66                       | 50.00                         |
| -----   |                             |                               |
| Total   | 100.00                      | 100.00                        |

\* Commitments other than engagement (e.g. "going steady").

As alluded to in the candlelight and cigar pass examples, many sororities and some fraternities recognize lesser forms of commitment to the opposite sex, but *often this is done only if the significant other is Greek* (Table 3-6). In 46.67% of sororities, only sisters who have a Greek boyfriend are recognized for getting "pinned" or "lavaliered" (also known on some campuses as getting "dropped"). Several sororities and half of all fraternities recognize sisters and brothers who are committing to a boyfriend or girlfriend.

The survey of presidents confirmed some major structural differences between sororities and fraternities. None of the sororities with houses allow alcohol to be stored or consumed at the house whereas all of the fraternities with houses do

Table 3-7: Policies regarding the storage and consumption of alcohol in the chapter house, 1996.

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=14) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Stored and consumed          | 0.00                        | 100.00                       |
| Stored only                  | 0.00                        | 0.00                         |
| Neither stored nor consumed  | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| -----                        |                             |                              |
| Total                        | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house) | 1                           | 1                            |

allow alcohol to be stored and/or consumed at the houses (Table 3-7). In addition, all of the sorority presidents reported that their organizations have official policies regarding underage drinking compared to three of nine fraternities (Table 3-8). All but one sorority and 80% of the

Table 3-8: The existence of official punishments for sisters and brothers who drink underage or use illegal drugs, 1996.

|                                    | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=15) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=10) |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Punishment for drinking under age  | 100.00                      | 30.00                         |
| Punishment for using illegal drugs | 93.33                       | 100.00                        |
| No alcohol or drug policies        | 0.00                        | 20.00                         |

-----  
Doesn't add to 100.00% because more than one answer could be given.

fraternities reported having an official policy regarding how to handle situations regarding use of illegal drugs. Just two fraternities have neither an alcohol nor a drug policy.

Another major structural difference was in regard to opposite-sex, overnight guests (tables 1-10 and 1-11). None of the sororities with houses allow male overnight guests--even if the male is related to the sister, but all of the fraternities allow female overnight guests. However, none of the sororities (or fraternities) require house residents to

Table 3-9: Policies regarding same-sex overnight guests, 1996.

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=13) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=4) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| May stay over                | 92.31                       | 100.00                       |
| May not stay over            | 7.69                        | 0.00                         |
| -----                        |                             |                              |
| Total                        | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house) | 1                           | 1                            |
| Missing                      | 1                           | 6                            |

let someone know in advance if they will be spending the night somewhere else (although the closest friends of the sister or brother are likely to know where she or he will be) (see Table 3-12).

It is interesting that a question regarding male overnight guests at a fraternity house was problematic for six

Table 3-10: Policies regarding opposite-sex overnight guests who are related to a sister or brother, 1996.

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=14) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Yes                          | 0.00                        | 100.00                       |
| No                           | 100.00                      | 0.00                         |
| -----                        |                             |                              |
| Total                        | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house) | 1                           | 1                            |

Table 3-11: Policies regarding opposite-sex overnight guests who are not related to a sister or brother, 1996.

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=14) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Yes                          | 0.00                        | 100.00                       |
| No                           | 100.00                      | 0.00                         |
| -----                        |                             |                              |
| Total                        | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house) | 1                           | 1                            |

of the nine presidents who represented fraternities with houses; they wrote in that I must have mistakenly included this "girl" question; why would a male guest sleep over at a fraternity house? The remaining three fraternity presidents and all of the sorority presidents indicated that same-sex overnight guests are permitted regardless of whether or not

Table 3-12: Policies regarding officially informing someone if a house resident won't be staying at the house at night, 1996.

|                              | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=14) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Yes                          | 0.00                        | 0.00                         |
| No                           | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| -----                        |                             |                              |
| Total                        | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house) | 1                           | 1                            |

Table 3-13: Presence of a housemother or housefather, 1996.

|  | <u>Sororities</u><br>(n=14) | <u>Fraternities</u><br>(n=9) |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Housemother                                | 100.00                      | 44.44                        |
| Housefather                                | 0.00                        | 44.44                        |
| Both                                       | 0.00                        | 0.00                         |
| Neither (but<br>fraternity has a<br>house) | 0.00                        | 11.11                        |
| -----                                      |                             |                              |
| Total                                      | 100.00                      | 100.00                       |
| Not applicable<br>(no house)               | 1                           | 1                            |

they are related to the brother or sister respectively (see Table 3-9).

All of the sorority presidents who represented sororities with houses indicated that they have a housemother (Table 3-13). For the nine responding fraternities with houses, four have a housemother, four have a housefather, and one has neither a housemother nor a housefather.

#### National Data on Presence of Greeks on College Campuses

It is quite unusual for fraternities to exist on a college campus without sororities and vice versa. In an attempt to document this phenomenon, a study of the presence of fraternities and sororities at four-year, accredited

colleges and universities in the U.S. was undertaken. Overall, approximately 56% of the 1,500 schools listed in Barron's college guide have sororities and 57% have fraternities (Table 3-14). But if a school has fraternities, there is 96% likelihood that it also has sororities; if a school has sororities, it has a 97% likelihood of having fraternities.

Single-sex schools were much less likely to have sororities or fraternities (Table 3-15). Approximately 44% of men's schools have fraternities (Table 3-17) while just 17% of women's schools have sororities (and one of these predominantly women's schools has a fraternity as well) (Table 3-16). And usually the single-sex schools with Greek organizations are located in a city that has complementary organizations at another college.

It is also interesting to note that private schools are somewhat less likely to have Greek organizations despite the probability that a very high percentage of private school students could claim an upper-middle class background typical of Greek members. However, at a private school the Greek system would not be necessary to screen out unsuitable mates and comrades as nearly all the co-eds would meet the socioeconomic criteria required of Greeks at public colleges and universities. These findings reinforce the notion that fraternities and sororities mutually benefit each other by providing suitable partners for dating and possibly marriage.



Table 3-14: Characteristics of four-year, accredited colleges and universities, 1994 (N=1,500).

|                               | <u>% private</u> | <u>% with<br/>frat-<br/>ernities</u> | <u>% with<br/>soror-<br/>ities</u> | <u>average<br/>enrollment</u> |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Overall                       | 28.20%<br>(989)  | 57.13%<br>(441)                      | 56.33%<br>(431)                    | 4,214.58<br>(N=1,500)         |
| Private schools               | 100.00<br>(989)  | 44.59<br>(441)                       | 43.58<br>(431)                     | 1,930.09<br>(n=989)           |
| Co-ed schools                 | 64.49<br>(919)   | 59.79<br>(852)                       | 58.53<br>(834)                     | 4,369.50<br>(n=1,426)         |
| Schools with fraternities     | 51.46<br>(441)   | 100.00<br>(857)                      | 95.57<br>(819)                     | 5,993.30<br>(n=857)           |
| Schools with sororities       | 51.01<br>(431)   | 96.92<br>(819)                       | 100.00<br>(845)                    | 6,039.51<br>(n=845)           |
| Women's schools               |                  |                                      |                                    |                               |
| Women only schools            | 97.56<br>(40)    | 0.00<br>(0)                          | 12.20<br>(5)                       | 1,146.44<br>(n=41)            |
| Predominantly women's schools | 92.00<br>(23)    | 4.00<br>(1)                          | 24.00<br>(6)                       | 1,547.08<br>(n=25)            |
| Combined                      | 95.45<br>(63)    | 1.52<br>(1)                          | 16.67<br>(11)                      | 1,298.20<br>(n=66)            |
| Men's schools                 |                  |                                      |                                    |                               |
| Men only schools              | 75.00<br>(6)     | 50.00<br>(4)                         | 0.00<br>(0)                        | 1,214.63<br>(n=8)             |
| Predominantly men's school    | 100.00<br>(1)    | 0.00<br>(0)                          | 0.00<br>(0)                        | 83.00<br>(n=1)                |
| Combined                      | 77.78<br>(7)     | 44.44<br>(4)                         | 0.00<br>(0)                        | 1,088.89<br>(n=9)             |

Source: Data for analysis obtained from Barron's Profiles of American Colleges: Descriptions of the Colleges, 20th edition, 1994.

Table 3-15: Single sex institutions and the presence of Greek organizations on campus, 1994.

Women's schools with sororities but no fraternities:

| <u>School</u>                  | <u>Location</u>   | <u>Fraternities<br/>in same town?</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Women only schools -           |                   |                                       |
| Spelman College                | Atlanta           | Yes                                   |
| William Woods Univ.            | Fulton, MO        | Yes                                   |
| Rutgers Univ./Douglass College | New Brunswick, NJ | Yes                                   |
| Columbia Univ./Barnard College | New York          | Yes                                   |
| Bennett College                | Greensboro, NC    | Yes                                   |

Schools where women predominate -

|                                      |                 |     |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-----|
| Mt. St. Mary's College               | Los Angeles     | Yes |
| Women's College of Brenau University | Gainesville, GA | No  |
| College of St. Catherine             | St. Paul, MN    | Yes |
| Stephens College                     | Columbia, MO    | Yes |
| Texas Woman's Univ.                  | Denton, TX      | Yes |

Men's schools with fraternities but no sororities:

Men only schools -

| <u>School</u>                       | <u>Location</u>    | <u>Sororities<br/>in same town?</u> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Morehouse College                   | Atlanta            | Yes                                 |
| Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology | Terre Haute, IN    | Yes                                 |
| Wabash College                      | Crawfordsville, IN | No                                  |
| Hampden-Sydney College              | Hampden-Sydney, VA | No                                  |

Source: Data for analysis obtained from Barron's Profiles of American Colleges: Descriptions of the Colleges, 20th edition, 1994.

Table 3-16: Co-ed, four-year accredited colleges and universities with sororities but no fraternities, 1994 (n=16).

| <u>School</u>   | <u>Location</u>   | <u>Fraternities<br/>in same town?</u> |
|---|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Armstrong State College                                     | Savannah, GA      | Yes                                   |
| National-Louis Univ.  | Evanston, IL      | Yes                                   |
| St. Francis College   | Fort Wayne, IN    | Yes                                   |
| Villa Julie College   | Stevenson, MD     | No                                    |
| Davenport College of<br>Business                            | Grand Rapids, MI  | No                                    |
| Clarkson College  | Omaha, NE         | Yes                                   |
| City University of<br>New York/Herbert H.<br>Lehman College | New York          | Yes                                   |
| Marymount Manhattan<br>College                              | New York          | Yes                                   |
| Dickinson College   | Dickinson, ND     | No                                    |
| Lourdes College   | Sylvania, OH      | No                                    |
| Allentown College of<br>St. Francis de Sales                | Center Valley, PA | No                                    |
| Franklin and Marshall<br>College                            | Lancaster, PA     | No                                    |
| La Roche College  | Pittsburgh, PA    | Yes                                   |
| Tennessee Wesleyan<br>College                               | Athens, TN        | No                                    |
| Lubbock Christian Univ.                                     | Lubbock, TX       | Yes                                   |
| University of Houston-<br>Downtown                          | Houston           | Yes                                   |

Source: Data for analysis obtained from Barron's Profiles of American Colleges: Descriptions of the Colleges, 20th edition, 1994.

Table 3-17: Co-ed four-year colleges and universities with fraternities but no sororities, 1994 (n=34):

| <u>School</u>                                 | <u>Location</u>        | <u>Sororities<br/>in same town?</u> |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Indiana University East                       | Richmond, IN           | No                                  |
| Indiana Univ.-South Bend                      | South Bend, IN         | No                                  |
| Menlo College                                 | Artherton, CA          | No                                  |
| National University                           | San Diego              | Yes                                 |
| Pomona College                                | Claremont, CA          | No                                  |
| Colorado Christian College                    | Lakewood, CO           | No                                  |
| Ringling School of Art and Design             | Sarasota, FL           | No                                  |
| Webber College                                | Babson Park, FL        | No                                  |
| MacMurray College                             | Jacksonville, IL       | Yes                                 |
| University of Minnesota/<br>Crookston         | Crookston, MN          | No                                  |
| Bellarmino College                            | Louisville, KY         | Yes                                 |
| Thomas More College                           | Crestview Hills, KY    | No                                  |
| Bowdoin College                               | Lewiston, ME           | No                                  |
| Marine Maritime Academy                       | Castine, ME            | No                                  |
| University of Maine at<br>Augusta             | Augusta, ME            | No                                  |
| Mount Ida College                             | Newton Center, MA      | No                                  |
| Columbia College                              | Columbia, MO           | Yes                                 |
| Fontbonne College                             | St. Louis              | No                                  |
| Rockhurst College                             | Kansas City, MO        | Yes                                 |
| University of Missouri/<br>St. Louis          | St. Louis              | Yes                                 |
| New Mexico Highlands<br>University            | Las Vegas, NM          | No                                  |
| Adelphi University                            | Garden City, NY        | No                                  |
| City University of New<br>York/City College   | New York               | Yes                                 |
| City University of New<br>York/Queens College | Flushing, NY           | No                                  |
| College of Insurance                          | New York               | Yes                                 |
| Hobart and William Smith<br>College           | Geneva, NY             | No                                  |
| Niagara University                            | Niagara University, NY | No                                  |
| Polytechnic University/<br>Brooklyn           | Brooklyn, NY           | Yes                                 |
| Polytechnic University/<br>Farmingdale        | Farmingdale, NY        | No                                  |
| Davidson College                              | Davidson, NC           | No                                  |
| Dyke College                                  | Cleveland, OH          | Yes                                 |
| Urbana University                             | Urbana, OH             | No                                  |
| Lewis and Clark College                       | Portland, OR           | Yes                                 |
| Neumann College                               | Aston, PA              | No                                  |

Source: Data obtained for analysis from Barron's 1995 college guide.

### Negotiating Mixed Gender Messages

The gender messages sent to sorority women are often contradictory or at least difficult to properly negotiate within the given parameters. The messages are described as "gendered" because they relate to expected behavior based on a person's biological sex. In American culture, males are encouraged to adopt the masculine gender role, while females are encouraged to adopt the feminine gender role. While these roles are learned early in life, the performance of these roles is a continual process. This is known as "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987).

College women who participate in Greek sororities receive a variety of mixed messages about how they should "do gender." These sorority women have complex "social circles" (Lopata, 1994) that make conflicting demands on the women (see Table 3-18). The first and most obvious ambiguity which must be negotiated is the direct conflict between the liberating experience of higher education vs. the sorority as an organization which promotes marriage to socioeconomically appropriate partners as its overarching goal. In general, students' attitudes toward political and social issues liberalize during their four years or so as undergraduates. This is not necessarily so for students (men as well as women) who participate in Greek organizations (Wilder, 1978).

The college experience usually includes living away from home for the first time, but sororities (and to a lesser

Table 3-18: Mixed gender messages that sorority women must negotiate.

| <u>message A</u>   | <u>conflicts with</u> | <u>message B</u>   |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| Higher education is an opportunity to meet people unlike ourselves which tends to liberalize social and political viewpoints.  |                       | The best part about being Greek is that getting to interact with others who have a similar, privileged background.                   |
| Going to college prepares young women to realize their career goals.   |                       | Sororities function as mechanisms for facilitating "appropriate" (meaning demographically homogeneous) marriages.                    |
| College is an opportunity to gain independence.  |                       | Sororities foster dependence and allow fraternities to accept responsibility for alcohol purchase, distribution and legal liability. |
| Sorority women should achieve good grades; those who do not achieve a minimum cumulative grade point average may have their membership privileges temporarily suspended. |                       | Sorority women should be readily available to attend social functions--even those which occur on school nights.                      |
| Sorority women should be friendly and gracious hostesses to rushees.   |                       | Sorority women should maintain the exclusivity of their organizations and limit their membership accordingly.                        |
| The right reason to join a sorority is to make lifelong friendships with the other sisters.  |                       | The real reason women join sororities is to meet and date fraternity men.  |

Table 3-18, con't

| message A  | conflicts with | message B  |
|--|----------------|--|
| Sorority women should be physically attractive.  |                | Sorority women must not exude too much raw sexuality.  |
| Sorority women should be sociable by eating with others and going out for drinks on a regular basis. |                | Sorority women must maintain a slender figure to remain attractive.  |
| It is okay to drink alcohol at social events.  |                | It is best if men are responsible for purchasing and storing alcohol; but even then, a sorority woman must know her limits.                                    |
| It is good to meet fraternity men.   |                | Watch out; fraternity men may rape you.  |
| It is good to have a boyfriend.  |                | The boyfriend should be Greek or at least demographically appropriate.   |
| It is good to have sexual relations with your boyfriend.   |                | It is not okay to be promiscuous; also, sexual relations should not take place at the sorority house.  |
| Commitment is important.   |                | A slight degree of commitment from a fraternity man is equivalent to a larger commitment from a non-Greek man; nevertheless, sisters must still attend mixers. |

The problem:

Within the confines of these mixed messages lies the domain of appropriate behavior for sorority women. The problem is 1) often there really is no middle ground or 2) successful negotiation may result in compromises which jeopardize a woman's career goals.

extent fraternities) foster dependence by providing a social network of friends who claim the role of fictive kin. And while sorority women are investing time and energy in pursuit of a college degree, their participation in the organization may be encouraging them to limit their career aspirations to those that might be most compatible with marriage and motherhood. The women are encouraged to do well in school, and those who do not meet a minimum grade point average may have their membership temporarily suspended. But at the same time, the women are encouraged--indeed often required--to attend a number of social functions, many of which occur on school nights. The women must negotiate the conflicting demands of their classes with their necessary social appearances. This may become especially demanding if a woman has an independent boyfriend and must juggle this relationship in addition to the social demands of the sorority for socializing with her sisters as well as with fraternity men.

One strategy for negotiating the conflicting demands of doing well in school vs. taking time out to have fun could be to scale down one's expectations in regard to choosing a major. Areas of study such as engineering, computer science and architecture might take too much time out from one's social life whereas English, history, sociology and other liberal arts majors are perceived to be "easier." It might be logical to conclude that fraternity men would have to make the same trade offs; however, the sorority women likely would be



in a more vulnerable position since they are socialized to take a passive role in dating (being available at any time should a man ask her out) whereas the men could actively avoid asking out a woman if he had a sizeable amount of homework he needed to complete over the weekend.

In becoming a sorority sister, a woman must participate in either a formal or informal rush process. At the University of Florida, formal rush is held the week before classes begin each August. The cost to participate is \$30 with late fees of up to \$20 for those who do not meet the deadline. All of the predominantly Jewish sororities and predominantly white Christian or "mainstream" sororities participate in formal rush. However, the historically African-American sororities have their own rush activities.

During formal rush, women (mostly incoming freshmen) attend afternoon "rush parties" that consist of "skits" that the sorority sisters perform in hopes of convincing the rushees to express an interest in pledging. However, the rush process is reflexive; only those women who are selected (given a bid) may pledge. Inevitably some women are not invited to join any of the participating sororities. Informal rush activities are for those sororities which don't meet their allotted number of pledges (quota) and can occur after formal rush ends and/or at the beginning of the spring semester.

Thus the sorority women are given a mixed message about how they should behave in regard to other women: they must

appear friendly and genuinely interested in each rushee, but at the same time they must maintain an appropriate image which is ideally that of an exclusive group. However, elitist snobbery must never be displayed although its manifestation is evident to outsiders.

When a woman is selected to pledge a sorority, she is to remember that her sisterhood obligations must supersede any relationships which may develop with fraternity men or even same- or opposite-sex friendships with independents. However, the opinions of fraternity men have a tremendous influence on how the sorority women dress and behave. And while sororities are subliminally charged with the task of permanent matchmaking with the fraternity men, fraternity men often host open parties and socialize with independent women. But since men in our society can convey their upper-middle class status to working class women, the sororities must go to great lengths to preserve their images in order to effectively compete with lower status women for the attentions of the fraternity men. It should be noted that prestige is awarded to sorority houses that are well-represented at fraternity formals, even when the couples aren't seriously involved (Handler, 1995).

In regard to appearance, sororities seek attractive, slim women whose beauty seems natural--regardless of how much effort and expense is actually required to attain "the look." Women who dress in tight clothes and low-cut blouses would

possess too much raw sexuality which would not typify the image most sororities would wish to convey. Instead, by use of classic hairstyles and clothing the sorority women portray a more timeless and understated beauty.

The sorority women are expected to be sociable with their sisters as well as their fraternity brothers. This definition often includes sharing each others' company at meal time as well as going out for drinks. Research has shown that when people eat in the presence of others they tend to consume much more than they normally would (Levenstein, 1993). However, the sorority women are all too aware that having a slender body is a very important part of attracting men's attention. Thus many sorority women develop eating disorders, most notably bulimia (binge/purge syndrome). This allows them to eat and drink in the company of others while helping them maintain a below-average body weight.

The process of sorority/fraternity interaction is further facilitated by the presence of alcohol (and perhaps other drugs) at socials or mixers. The women are expected to become "social drinkers" which means accepting the gracious hospitality of the hosts by having a few drinks, but not become embarrassingly intoxicated. In addition to "toeing the line" between sociability and drunkenness, sorority women are faced with another mixed message concerning alcohol: it's okay to drink if someone else bought the alcohol. Sororities do not permit their house residents to consume or even store alcohol

inside. However, drinking beer or alcoholic punch at a fraternity house allows the sorority women to preserve their pristine images through denial. It also puts the women in a vulnerable position of always being away from their home territory while releasing them of the responsibilities of purchasing and distributing alcohol. This includes the legal liability to determine who is of legal drinking age (21 or older) and who should not drive home.

Often the fraternity men consciously use alcohol as a strategy for obtaining sexual favors (Boeringer, Shehan and Akers, 1991). Perhaps, too, the women unconsciously feel a desire to "thank" their hosts just as they might feel somewhat obligated to kiss a man who paid for the expenses incurred on a date. But while dating and sleeping with a fraternity brother are celebrated goals of sorority women, the pursuit of these goals exposes women to an increased risk of date or acquaintance rape while in pursuit of those goals.

It should not be surprising that beautiful young sorority women who frequently interact with the handsome young fraternity men can be persuaded to go beyond flirtations and good-natured kisses. Again mixed messages are sent: to sleep with a steady boyfriend is okay--perhaps even a good thing; however, sleeping with a new acquaintance--especially on the night of a mixer--is a bad thing that can temporarily damage the reputation of the entire sorority. To some extent all women are faced with the sexual double standard although

sorority women have the added risk of alienating their support network if they dare to challenge the notion that a woman must carefully select and limit her bedmates.

The location of the sexual encounter is especially problematic for women who are residents of their sorority houses. The official house rules do not permit men--even the sisters' male friends or relatives--to spend the night. Some houses don't even permit men to go into the sisters' bedrooms at any time, with the exception of the beginning and end of the school year when their fathers, brothers and boyfriends might assist in lifting heavy furniture. That a sorority woman's boyfriend might be a resident of a fraternity house would not pose a problem as women are more than welcome to spend the night at a fraternity house (see Table 3-10).

Regardless of whether the sorority house residents sleep with their boyfriends at a fraternity house or private apartments, the men will be at an advantage since their lives will not be interrupted by packing for the evening. In addition, they will have easy access to their school books, telephone and clean underwear.

And while sororities encourage and reward their members for successfully receiving visible signs of commitment from men, it would be wrong to assume that all men are equal in prestige. For example, sororities almost universally have a ceremony to recognize the achievement of receiving an engagement ring (in fact, the ring is attached to a candle in

the popular "candlelight" ceremony and passed from sister to sister for inspection and envy). However, many sororities perform ceremonies to recognize the achievement of going steady for only those women who are "pinned" or "lavaliered" by Greek men. Also, sororities have social calendars filled with activities that provide introduction and interaction with fraternity men--their rightful socioeconomic counterparts. These activities not only encourage homogamous dating, but they simultaneously serve to limit the likelihood of socially, racially, ethnically and religiously heterogamous partnerships. And regardless of a sorority woman's commitment to a man, she is still expected to attend mixers and other social functions which could create temptations (which she must resist) that might never have existed.

If a woman wishes to have access to fraternity men and wants to bypass the incongruous gender messages sent by sororities, she has the option of becoming a fraternity Little Sister. Although Little Sister organizations have not been officially recognized by the University of Florida since 1991 ("Council Abolishes All Little Sisters," 1991) several fraternities still offer women the opportunity to participate in these auxiliary groups.

While the gender messages sent to the Little Sisters aren't incongruous, neither are they flattering. Women who participate as Little Sisters are not given equal status with the fraternity men; in fact, it is the men who dominate the

membership selection process. The benefit is that the women can be honest about their desires to date Greek men, but they lack the resources to successfully band together in opposition to the sexual requests or other demands of the fraternity men. And while no one can tell the Little Sisters that men can't stay over or that the women can't purchase alcohol, these points are moot since the Little Sisters do not have a house of their own. However, participating in a Little Sister organization is decidedly less expensive than participating in a social sorority which no doubt affects a woman's decision to "settle" for Little Sister status.

It should be noted that at the time of this data collection, two black sororities were on probation and thus could not have pledge classes. Thus it is believed that a significant portion of the black women who wish to pledge these sororities in the future might bide their time as Little Sisters rather than rush the "wrong" sorority. Then when these sororities are removed from probation, the women can pledge their sorority of choice.

#### Greeks and Values

Prior research on sororities conducted by Scott and Scott (1965) revealed that women who pledge or are active in sororities are more likely to be politically conservative (usually disfavoring the campus newspaper). They also "value loyalty to the group, academic achievement ..., physical

development, and status more, and independence less, than did unaffiliated women." Fraternity men and unaffiliated men had fewer significant differences ( $p < .05$ ) in values than did sorority women and unaffiliated women (pp. 116-117).

Interestingly, sorority pledges had higher scores than actives on measures of overall "feelings of devotion to their particular group." Also, actives who eventually dropped out or who were seniors felt less attraction to the group (we-ness) (Scott and Scott, 1965, p. 133).

Scott and Scott mention that at the time of their study, some schools were contemplating delaying rush by one semester or one year for incoming freshmen; this way a freshman could establish other social ties so that if she were rejected from a particular sorority, she would not be devastated. Women also could better assess into which group they would best fit. However, there was also a strong movement to begin rush before classes begin each fall (Scott and Scott, 1965, p. 135). This would appear to coincide with the notion that sororities are looking for women who are less independent than the average freshman. The ideal pledge does not have established social ties and can thus be expected to participate exclusively with the sorority as social family.

When women come to college, they decide whether or not they wish to rush a sorority. Having decided to "go Greek," the women then decide which sorority is right for them. Women who pledge sororities are usually Protestant and are more



likely to have been raised in an urban area than are non-pledges. The study revealed that sorority pledges place greater importance on social skills, loyalty, academic achievement and status than do non-pledges. However, pledges placed lower values on kindness and independence. Thus it appears that the pledges were already "pre-socialized into a pattern of values appropriate to the 'culture' that [they were] to adopt" (Scott and Scott, p. 140).

By far, the value most consistently correlated with attraction to the group was loyalty. Scott and Scott assert that a woman's attraction to her sorority would affect her amount of participation and leadership. Her contributions to the group would in turn affect the amount the other members of the group would like or dislike her. Members who have the most favorable attitudes toward the group scored higher on measures of social skills, academic achievement, status and religiosity, and again, lower on independence. The authors concluded that "a person's expressions of devotion to the organization will be appreciated by [her] colleagues to the extent that they admire group loyalty as a human virtue" (Scott and Scott, pp. 174-175).

Scott and Scott found that it is possible to predict which women would de-pledge their sororities: Women who leave the sorority have values quite similar to women who never pledge. However, women who de-pledge are not demographically different from women who remain with the sorority in terms of

socioeconomic status. The women who de-pledge were also less liked than women who remained as pledges. However, active sisters who leave the organization are just as popular as active sisters who continue their membership in the sorority. Active sisters leave the group primarily because of a heightened sense of independence and lowered sense of group loyalty. These sisters also scored either very high or very low on other values such as academic achievement in comparison to the rest of the actives (Scott and Scott, 1965, pp. 179-184, 188).

Additionally, the researchers found that the values of pledges were not distinctively changed as a result of their interaction with the sorority. *The process of self-selection* (the act of pledging the sorority as a matter of free will) *accounted for the similarity in values between pledges and active sisters.* However, there is some evidence to suggest that the most motivated pledges do change their values more than those who are less motivated (Scott and Scott, 1965, pp. 202, 208-209).

### Expectations

In terms of gender roles attitudes, it is expected that Greeks--particularly sorority women--will have more conservative gender role attitudes than independents. This is because Greeks have self-selected to belong to organizations which stress traditional gender roles for men and women. This

is especially true of sorority women who continue to abide by rules which clearly reinforce the "double standard."

In terms of homogamy preferences, it is expected that there would be many opportunities for students to meet and interact with other students who are dissimilar in terms of race, ethnicity, religion and social class since UF is a public university located in a state with great cultural and economic diversity. However, even student populations are segregated in regard to majors, housing arrangements, and participation in various campus organizations. These segregations are the result of gender, SES (or parents' SES), religion, race, ethnicity and values (e.g., study habits and anticipated career as well as attitudes regarding premarital sexual activity and alcohol consumption). Hence certain types of students are very likely to join fraternities and sororities while others are very unlikely to join. Once the "certain" students have "gone Greek," they will become involved in a myriad of opportunities to mix with other Greeks--especially Greeks of the opposite sex who are interested in forming relationships which may last one night or the rest of their lives.

Because Greek organizations demand a large commitment of time in addition to school work, Greeks do not have much time remaining to meet independents. Also, when Greeks do join other organizations they tend to be Greek-dominated (e.g., at UF the Student Government, the Gator Growl homecoming pep

rally committees, the Florida Blue Key leadership honorary) which permits Greeks to interact without getting more than tangentially involved with independents. And since Greeks tend to befriend other Greeks, even unofficial time spent in Gainesville--at the movies, at the beach, exercising, studying--is likely to be spent in the company of other Greeks (most likely those of one's own Greek organization or of one's heterosexual significant other).

This might make it seem that Greek matchmaking is merely a latent function of fraternities and sororities. However, the frequent mixers, date parties, formal dances, and pinning and engagement rituals (especially those of white sororities) suggest that Greek organizations knowingly encourage homogamous unions. Also, independent mates would be unlikely to accept the continuous demands placed on Greeks in terms of daily activities and meetings.

Also, the historical membership selection patterns of the Greek system cannot be overlooked. Having separate organizations for Jews and blacks--and even a separate governing body for blacks--serves as *de facto* evidence of differential association and propinquity.

It must be remembered that the vast majority of the undergraduate survey respondents have never married (see Table 4-16). Thus this study will focus instead on the respondents' stated homogamy preferences rather than actual marriage partner selections. It is likely that stated homogamy

preferences would be more liberal than actual behavior-- particularly for first marriages which are more likely to be homogamous (Schneider, 1989).

## CHAPTER 4 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

### Research Design

In an effort to study the gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences of undergraduates at the University of Florida, a ten-page questionnaire was developed. A total of 24 attitudinal questions on a four-point Likert scale were devised. Some of the questions pertained to areas outside of the scope of this dissertation (such as filial responsibility expectations, familism, and attitudes toward children). This dissertation focuses on the gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences--two areas which were especially salient when examining differences between Greeks and independents.

### Data Collection

Approximately 2,600 questionnaires were distributed in general education courses in an attempt to gain a wide range of students especially with regard to majors and, to a lesser extent, year in college. Upperclassmen were preferable to lowerclassmen because students who have been at the University of Florida longer would have a more complete perspective on

the Greek system. For example, a fourth-year student may have loved his or her sorority/fraternity when he or she first pledged as a freshman but has since "outgrown" it. In the actual sample, however, freshman and sophomores were somewhat over-represented since juniors and seniors are more likely to be in smaller classes rather than large, general education classes such as Introduction to Theater (see Table 4-1).

### Selection Procedure

Theater 2000 was selected due to its large enrollment, Jazz History was selected due to the large number of minorities enrolled, and the other courses were selected due to convenience factors and to increase the total sample size.

It is important to remember that since the questionnaires weren't distributed in Theater 2000 until finals week of the Spring semester, it was "risky" to rely entirely on this course because if something went wrong at that point, it would be another year before the student body (mainly the freshmen) would be sufficiently experienced with the Greek system to properly answer the questions. Thus a number of sociology courses were selected so that the project could be salvaged without the respondents from Theater 2000. Fortunately, the data collection in Theater 2000 went quite well. However, the respondents from the smaller classes were not removed from the sample because they had higher proportions of juniors and

seniors which were underrepresented in Theater 2000 and Jazz History (see Table 4-1).

The questionnaire was designed so that most respondents would not mind completing the answers in close proximity with others. Also, the demographic variables which could be most easily operationalized were included on the questionnaire. Thus respondents were not asked for their incomes (which they might have reported as their own earnings which would likely be quite low despite their true social class conferred by their parents) or their parents' incomes (which they might not have known or would not have wanted to report in the presence of others). Instead, mother's and father's education levels and mother's and father's occupations were collected. The occupations were then classified into several categories (see tables 4-9 and 4-10) and dichotomized into white collar vs. non-white collar. Professional, managerial, teaching, sales associates and secretaries are examples of white collar jobs. Examples of non-white collar jobs included construction, farming, truck driving, postal work, and unemployment.

#### Limitations of the Data

It is important to note that this study did not include two variables which might have had a great deal of explanatory value. Due to the subjective nature of appearance, this variable was not included. Also, sexual orientation was not included because it was believed that this question would make gay, lesbian, bisexual and chaste students feel uncomfortable



Table 4-1: Courses selected for distribution of the 10-page undergraduate survey of gender role attitudes, homogamy preferences, and Greek membership status, 1995.

| <u>Course title</u>   | <u>Enrollment</u> | <u>Instructor</u>   |
|---|-------------------|---|
| Introduction to Theater<br>(THE 2000)                                   | 600<br>598<br>398 | Dr. Albert Wehlberg<br>Dr. Albert Wehlberg<br>Dr. Albert Wehlberg |
| Jazz History<br>(MUH 4016)  | 274<br>257        | Prof. Gary Langford<br>Prof. Gary Langford                        |
| Marriage and Family<br>(SYG 2430 - sociology program)                   | 48                | Ms. Kim Pettigrew<br>Brackett                                     |
| Introduction to Sociology<br>(SYG 2000)                                 | 125               | Mr. Tom Heffington  |
| Media Planning<br>(ADV 4300)  | 80                | Dr. Kent Lancaster  |
| Deviance<br>(SYP 3510)  | 67                | Mr. Amir Marvasti   |
| Sociology of Women<br>(SYD 4810)  | 49                | Dr. Constance<br>Shehan   |
| Marriage and Family<br>(SYG 2430 - Human Resources Development program) | 48                | Dr. Suzanna Smith   |
| Criminology<br>(SYP 4520)   | 45                | Mr. Dean Dabney   |
| <hr/>   |                   |   |
| Total   | 2,589             |   |

Thus a participation rate of 1,965 represents a minimum 76% completion rate. The actual rate is somewhat higher because 1) students who were not in attendance on the day the survey was administered did not have a chance to participate; 2) 14 students who received the survey in more than one class were only included in the study once; 3) eight graduate students were excluded from the sample.

It is estimated that at least 85% of all students who received the survey completed enough answers for inclusion in the study.

given the public atmosphere in which they were asked to complete the survey.

In addition, all sororities--regardless of size or ethnicity of the membership--were assumed to be equivalent, and all fraternities--regardless of size or ethnicity of the membership--were assumed to be equivalent. This assumption seemed logical since many of the rush functions and information sessions for the predominantly white and Jewish organizations are held concurrently. However, the predominantly black organizations hold their own membership activities. But all of the Greeks mentioned in this dissertation share the following characteristics: have sex-segregated membership, are identified with Greek letters, are part of a national Greek system, are secret societies that are social in nature, and share a common headquarters at the student union.

The importance of distributing the questionnaires in the classroom (as opposed to distributing questionnaires at sorority and fraternity houses) cannot be overestimated. To survey Greeks on their own territory would give them the opportunity to boycott the survey or to bias their answers. But more importantly, Greeks who are least enthusiastic about their membership in their respective organizations would be especially difficult to reach.

Because some of the most salient questions on the survey ask for the respondent's Greek affiliation and experiences in

the Greek system, the survey was distributed in April and May of 1995 (the end of the spring semester). This ensured a maximum level of Greek experiences for the campus as a whole since most Greeks pledge in the Fall term and would have been associated with their respective fraternities and sororities for approximately nine months (or about three to four months for Spring pledges).

The large sample size was selected so that a sufficient number of questionnaires would be completed by sorority members as well as fraternity members. According to the Interfraternity Council (which represents the predominantly white and Jewish fraternities), approximately 13% of all undergraduates are active members or pledges of Greek social fraternities and sororities. Also, a total of approximately 2,000 students are pledged each year to fraternities and sororities.

Elizabeth Broughton, the former interim coordinator of the Greek system who recently completed a dissertation on Greeks and alcohol, estimated that about 15% to 17% of the undergraduate population has been Greek throughout the past decade. The cause for the discrepancy is most likely caused by the fact that Broughton's definition includes traditionally "black" fraternities and sororities which are not a part of the Interfraternity Council. My study, however, included historically black sororities and fraternities (which belong

to the National Pan-Hellenic Conference) in its definition of Greek organizations.

The large sample size also proved to be effective in that a sufficiently large sample of fraternity "Little Sisters" was obtained ( $n=53$ ). In addition, the large sample size yielded substantial numbers to examine Jewish fraternities and sororities in comparison to "white, mainstream," organizations. Unfortunately the numbers weren't large enough to examine historically black Greek organizations in comparison to white or Jewish organizations. But the major reason for the large sample size is to make certain that at least 100 currently active sorority and fraternity members were surveyed. Also, the large sample size permitted examination of attitudes of those who participated in a Greek organization but discontinued their membership (quitters). However, these comparisons are outside the scope of this dissertation and will be the subject of future research using this data.

#### Operationalization

Measurement for each variable is explained in tables 4-2 and 4-3. All attitudinal variables were collapsed into agree (strongly agree and agree) in comparison to disagree (strongly disagree and disagree). All demographic variables were dichotomized with the exception of age which was left as a continuous variable. Race/ethnicity and religious preference

were dichotomized using dummy variables with white, non-Hispanic and no religious preference as the omitted (comparison) groups.

### Demographics of the Survey Respondents

The survey yielded 1,965 usable responses. A survey was defined "usable" if the respondent 1) was an undergraduate, 2) provided his or her sex (a vitally important question near the end of the survey which generally signaled that the respondent had answered a high percentage of the questions), and 3) had not completed the survey in another class. If the respondent indicated he or she had previously completed the survey in another class, the second survey was discarded. Only eight graduate students and 14 duplicates had to be removed. However, nearly 100 surveys had to be removed due to missing data on the gender variable and six others were removed due to inappropriate responses (such as always selecting the first item--even when a skip pattern was introduced).

The majority of the respondents (56.8%) were female and the remaining 43.2% were male. The respondents ranged in age from 17 to 52 with a modal age of 19 (36.4% of respondents) and an average age of 19.75. Freshmen comprised the largest portion of the sample with 35.7% of all respondents; sophomores totaled 31.4% of the sample; juniors totaled 17.0%; and seniors (including 13 seniors in five-year programs) totaled 15.9%. Overall, figures for Fall semester of 1994 for

Table 4-2: Measurement of attitudinal variables used in the logistic regression models.

All attitudinal variables were collapsed into agree (strongly agree and agree) in comparison to disagree (strongly disagree and agree).

### Attitudinal variables

*For all respondents regardless of marital status, the following variables were constructed based on agreement with the corresponding statements:*

FIRSTDAT - When a man and woman go out on a first date, the man should pay for all expenses incurred.

TAKENAME - When a man and woman get married, the woman should take the husband's last name.

FAMREL - I would be disappointed to learn that someone in my family married someone who practices a different religion.

FAMRAC - I would be disappointed to learn that someone in my family married someone of a different race.

FAMETH - I would be disappointed to learn that someone in my family married someone of a different ethnicity.

*For respondents who were not currently married (98% of sample)*

DISUNMAR - I would be disappointed to learn that I would never marry.

MARRAC - Although I might casually date someone of a different race, I only would want to marry someone of my same race.

MARETH - Although I might casually date someone of a different ethnicity, I only would want to marry someone of my same ethnicity.

MARSOCCL - Although I might casually date someone of a different social class, I only would want to marry someone of my social class or higher.

Table 4-3: Measurement of demographic variables used in the logistic regression model (continues on next page).

Demographic variables

AGE - left as a continuous variable

GENDER - 0=male, 1=female

MTAT (marital status) - 0=never married, 1=ever married

MOMED (mother's education) - 0=less than bachelor's degree, 2=bachelor's degree or higher

DADED (father's education) - 0=less than bachelor's degree, 2=bachelor's degree or higher

WHITECOL (mother's occupation) - 0=non-white collar job, 1=white collar job

WHITECCO (father's occupation) - 0=non-white collar job, 1=white collar job

GREEKSEX (preference to date Greeks) - 0=doesn't prefer to date Greeks, 1=prefers to date Greeks

CHURCH (attendance at religious services) - 0=attends religious services less than several times a month, 1=attends religious services once a month or more

Religion (respondents with no religion are the omitted group)

PROTEST - Protestants

CATHOLIC - Catholics

JEWISH - Jews

OTHERREL - respondents who identify with other religions such as Islam, Hinduism, Hare Krishna, etc.

Race/ethnicity (whites are the omitted group)

HISPANIC (Hispanic origin, regardless of race) - 1=Hispanic

BLACK (non-Hispanic blacks) - 1=non-Hispanic blacks

OTHERACE (non-Hispanics who are neither black or white; includes Asians, Native Americans, biracial individuals) - 1=other race

TABLE 4-3, con't

PARENTOG (parents have been continuously married since the respondent's birth or adoption until the respondent's 18th birthday) - 0=parents not continuously married, 1=parents continuously married

MOMWORKD (respondent's mother worked in paid labor after the respondent's birth or adoption and prior to the respondent's entry into first grade) - 0=mother didn't work, 1=mother did work

GREWUSA (respondent lived at least 15 of his or her first 18 years in the U.S.) - 0=less than 15 of first 18 years in U.S., 1=lived 15 or more of first 18 years in U.S.

GREEKMOM - (respondent's mother was a member of a college social sorority) - 0=mother didn't belong to a sorority, 1=mother did belong to a sorority

GREEKDAD - (respondent's father was a member of a college social fraternity) - 0=father didn't belong to a fraternity, 1=father did belong to a fraternity

CUMGPA - (respondent's cumulative grade point average) - 0=cumulative GPA is below 3.0, 1=cumulative GPA is 3.0 or higher

EVERGREE - (respondent's Greek membership status) - 0=respondent never joined or pledged a Greek organization (other than a Little Sister organization), 1=respondent joined or pledged a Greek organization other than a Little Sister organization (regardless of whether or not the respondent is still participating in the fraternity or sorority)



Table 4-4: Race/ethnicity distribution of respondents (n=1,737).

| <u>White</u>      | <u>Black</u>   | <u>Asian</u>  | <u>Hispanic</u> | <u>Other</u>  |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 74.04%<br>(1,286) | 6.62%<br>(115) | 5.30%<br>(92) | 11.69%<br>(203) | 2.36%<br>(41) |

68 missing

UF undergraduates indicated 41.7% of the students were lower division (compared to 67.1% of the sample) and 58.4% were upper division (compared to 32.9% of the sample) (University of Florida Fact Book, 1995).

Only 27 students refused to provide information on their racial and ethnic background (Table 4-4). Of those reporting, 71.2% were white (non-Hispanic), 6.4% were black (non-Hispanic), 11.2% were Hispanic (of any race) and 7.4% belonged to other racial/ethnic groups. A total of 11.2% of the respondents were Hispanic (of any race). This compared quite well to the overall race/ethnicity distribution for undergraduates at UF for the Fall semester of 1994: 77.1% white (non-Hispanic), 6.1% black (non-Hispanic), 9.3% Hispanic (of any race) and 7.6% other races (and of non-Hispanic origin).

Table 4-5: Religious preference of respondents (n=1,773).

| <u>Protestant</u> | <u>Catholic</u> | <u>Jewish</u>   | <u>Other</u>  | <u>None</u>     |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 36.27%<br>(643)   | 30.80%<br>(546) | 13.14%<br>(233) | 4.85%<br>(86) | 14.95%<br>(265) |

32 missing

Most of the students identified with Christianity (Table 4-5). More than one-third of the respondents (36.27%) identified themselves as Protestants and 30.80% identified themselves as Catholics. Approximately 14% of the students were Jewish while nearly 15% did not identify with any religion. The remaining students identified with another religion such as Islam or Hinduism.

Table 4-6: Respondents' attendance at religious services (n=1,781).

| <u>Once a<br/>week or<br/>more</u> | <u>Several<br/>times a<br/>month</u> | <u>Several<br/>times a<br/>year</u> | <u>A few<br/>times<br/>a year</u> | <u>Once<br/>a year<br/>or less</u> |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 13.64%<br>(243)                    | 7.92%<br>(141)                       | 14.21%<br>(253)                     | 35.26%<br>(628)                   | 28.97%<br>(516)                    |

34 missing

The respondents were also asked how often they attend religious services (Table 4-6). It is interesting to note that many of the students who said they do not have a religion do attend religious services (perhaps just once a year), and that many of the students who do identify with a religion never actually attend religious services. The majority of respondents reported that they do not attend religious services more than a few times per year.

The vast majority of the survey respondents (91.3%) reported that they grew up in the United States (having spent

Table 4-7: Distribution of respondents who grew up in the U.S. (n=1,736).

| <u>Yes</u> | <u>Partially*</u> | <u>No**</u> |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 92.46%     | 5.20%             | 2.34%       |
| (1,593)    | (88)              | (55)        |

\* Partially was defined as having lived 6 to 14 of one's first 18 years in the U.S.

\*\* Respondents who lived fewer than 6 of their first 18 years in the U.S. were defined as not having grown up in this country.

69 missing

at least 15 of the first 18 years living in the U.S.). This information is presented in Table 4-7.

The students' reported having parents with relatively high levels of education (see table 4-8 and 4-9). Of the

Table 4-8: Respondents' mothers' highest level of educational attainment (n=1,757).

| <u>Professional degree</u> | <u>Master's degree</u> | <u>Bachelor's degree</u> | <u>High school diploma</u> | <u>Less than high school</u> |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 3.47%                      | 17.07%                 | 29.99%                   | 46.44%                     | 3.02%                        |
| (61)                       | (300)                  | (527)                    | (816)                      | (53)                         |

48 missing

Table 4-9: Respondents' fathers' highest level of educational attainment (n=1,741).

| <u>Professional degree</u> | <u>Master's degree</u> | <u>Bachelor's degree</u> | <u>High school diploma</u> | <u>Less than high school</u> |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 14.65%                     | 20.62%                 | 30.04%                   | 31.48%                     | 3.22%                        |
| (255)                      | (359)                  | (523)                    | (548)                      | (56)                         |

64 missing

fathers, 65.3% had at least a college degree; of the mothers, 50.5% had at least a college degree. In most cases (69.4%), the students' parents had been married continuously from the students' birth or adoption until at least the respondents' 18th birthday (or the date of the survey if the respondent was not yet 18). Nearly all of the respondents (92.7%) had at least one sibling. However, just 19.6% reported having three or more siblings. The majority of the students had one (45.1%) or two (28.0%) siblings.

The educational level of a respondent's parents undoubtedly affected whether or not the parents had been members of college Greek organizations (tables 4-10 and 4-11). Overall, the respondents had a 13.03% likelihood of having a Greek mother and a 22.52% chance of having a Greek father.

Table 4-10: Respondents whose mothers belonged to Greek sororities (n=1,719).

| <u>Greek mother</u> | <u>Independent mother*</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 13.03%              | 86.97%                     |
| (224)               | (1,495)                    |

86 missing

\* Independent includes mothers who did not attend college.

Table 4-11: Respondents whose fathers belonged to Greek fraternities (n=1,692).

| <u>Greek father</u> | <u>Independent father*</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 22.52%              | 77.48%                     |
| (381)               | (1,311)                    |

113 missing

\* Independent includes fathers who did not attend college.

The educational attainment undoubtedly affected the type employment the respondents' parents obtained (tables 4-12 and 4-13). The open-ended questions regarding parents occupations were coded into four major groupings: homemaker, white collar, blue collar, and other (includes unemployed, disabled, retired, military service, students and other occupations which could not be placed into one of the other three categories).

Table 4-12: Respondents' mothers' occupations (n=1,627).

| <u>Homemaker</u> | <u>White<br/>collar</u> | <u>Blue<br/>collar</u> | <u>Other</u> |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| 11.00%           | 77.75%                  | 4.43%                  | 6.82%        |
| (179)            | (1,265)                 | (72)                   | (111)        |

178 missing

Table 4-13: Respondents' fathers' occupations (n=1,615).

| <u>Homemaker</u> | <u>White<br/>collar</u> | <u>Blue<br/>collar</u> | <u>Other</u> |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| .00%             | 74.67%                  | 11.89%                 | 13.44%       |
| (1)              | (1,206)                 | (192)                  | (217)        |

190 missing

The majority of the respondents reported that their parents had been continuously married since the respondents' birth or adoption (Table 4-14). Also, just slightly more than half (53.93%) of the respondents reported that their mothers did NOT work in paid employment from the time of their birth or adoption until their entry into first grade (Table 4-15). It is believed that having traditional role models

(continuously married parents and a mother who doesn't work in paid labor while she had young children) will affect the gender role attitudes of the children growing up in the household (due to the social learning theory as discussed in Chapter 2).

Table 4-14: Distribution of respondents by relationship of parents (n=1,723).

| <u>Parents continuously married since respondent's birth or adoption</u> | <u>Respondent's parents not continuously married due to death of a married parent</u> | <u>Respondent's parents not continuously married since respondent's birth or adoption and not elsewhere classified</u> |
|--|---|--|
| 69.59%<br>(1,199)  | 2.96%<br>(51)   | 27.45%<br>(473)  |

82 missing

Table 4-15: Distribution of respondents by whether or not their mothers worked in paid labor before the respondents entered first grade (n=1,717).

| <u>Mother worked</u> | <u>Mother didn't work</u> |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 46.07%<br>(791)      | 53.93%<br>(926)           |

88 missing

Table 4-16: Respondents' marital status (n=1,775).

| <u>Married, divorced, widowed</u> | <u>Engaged and/or living</u> | <u>Never married and not elsewhere classified</u> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 2.31%<br>(41)                     | 6.48%<br>(115)               | 91.21%<br>(1,619)                                 |

30 missing

The vast majority of the students (93.6%) had never been married, and 4.1% of them reported that they were currently engaged. At the time of the survey (Table 4-16), 91.21% of the respondents were not married and were not living with a partner. A total of 6.48% of the respondents were engaged and/or living with their partner while just 2.31% of the sample were currently married, divorced or widowed.

Table 4-17: Respondents' cumulative grade point averages (GPA) (n=1,779).

| <u>3.5 to</u><br><u>4.0</u> | <u>3.0 to</u><br><u>3.4</u> | <u>2.5 to</u><br><u>2.9</u> | <u>2.0 to</u><br><u>2.4</u> | <u>Below</u><br><u>2.0</u> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 24.17%<br>(430)             | 36.03%<br>(641)             | 25.86%<br>(460)             | 11.13%<br>(198)             | 2.81%<br>(50)              |

26 missing

The majority of the students in the survey reported having very high cumulative grade point averages (Table 4-17). In fact 60.2% of the respondents reported that their GPAs were at least 3.0 on a 4.0 scale. (According to the University of Florida Fact Book, the overall average GPA at UF as of Fall 1994 was 2.97.)

Since the surveys were distributed at the end of the semester, it is possible that the students interpreted the question to their advantage. For example, the students who had done very well that semester may have anticipated their upcoming GPA whereas students who had done poorly that semester would have preferred to provide their cumulative GPA from the previous semester. Also, 14% of the students were

transfer students (Table 4-18) and could have decided for themselves whether or not they should average in their grades from their previous colleges.

Table 4-18: Respondents' transfer status (n=1,785).

| <u>Transferred to UF</u> | <u>Always at UF</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 14.01%<br>(250)          | 85.99%<br>(1,535)   |
| 20 missing               |                     |

Table 4-19: Respondents' employment status during Spring semester 1995 (n=1,782).

| <u>Not employed</u> | <u>Employed</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 62.29%<br>(1,110)   | 37.71%<br>(672) |
| 23 missing          |                 |

The majority of the students (62.3%) reported that they were not employed during the current semester (Table 4-19). The definition of employment included any work for pay in Spring term 1995 whether on or off campus.

Of the 1,746 respondents who provided information in regard to whether or not they had ever formally or informally rushed a fraternity or sorority, 637 or 36.5% said they had. Of those who rushed, 73.2% said they then participated in the fraternity or sorority as a pledge, membership candidate, colony member or full member of the organization. Thus 26.6% of the overall sample were current or former participants in social fraternities and sororities. Just over half (51.3%) of



these Greeks were still active in their organizations. The low retention rate is especially interesting to note since the sample consisted mainly of freshmen and sophomores who haven't had as much time to become disinterested in the group and also that students who have left the university due to low grades or personal reasons could not have been included in this sample.

Of the 637 current or former Greeks, just 2.6% had been affiliated with predominantly black Greek organizations, while 17.9% of the current or former Greeks had been affiliated with predominantly Jewish groups.

While the University of Florida no longer recognizes fraternity "Little Sister" groups as official university-related organizations, a number of these groups continue to exist without the official status. In fact, 53 of the women in the survey (5.2%) reported that they were or had been members of fraternity "Little Sister" organizations. Of these 53 women, 14 belonged to a predominantly black "Little Sister" group, three belonged to a predominantly Jewish "Little Sister" group and 34 belonged to predominantly white, non-Jewish "Little Sister" groups (and two of the "Little Sisters" did not respond to this question).

Respondents who were not currently participating in a Greek organization were asked to select the reasons they were not active (Table 4-20). More than half of the respondents selected "It does not appeal to me" and "It's not worth the

Table 4-20: Reasons that respondents were not currently participating in a fraternity or sorority. (Respondents could choose more than one.)

| %    | #   |  |
|------|-----|--|
| 58.7 | 864 | It does not appeal to me.  |
| 51.9 | 764 | It's not worth the money.  |
| 40.1 | 591 | I do not have enough time.   |
| 38.8 | 571 | I do not subscribe to the same values as Greeks.   |
| 34.5 | 508 | It would interfere with my studies.  |
| 29.1 | 428 | I cannot afford to belong.   |
| 16.8 | 248 | I wouldn't fit in.   |
| 14.5 | 213 | It would interfere with my work schedule.  |
| 10.4 | 153 | I hope to join soon.   |
| 9.1  | 134 | I do not feel welcome.   |
| 6.2  | 91  | I tried it, but I didn't like it.  |
| 3.2  | 47  | I am unsure how to join.   |
| 2.8  | 41  | I fear rejection.  |
| 1.3  | 19  | I was involved but the organization disbanded or was suspended or put on probation.                                      |
| 1.1  | 16  | I now have alumni status within the organization.  |
| 1.1  | 16  | I tried to join but was rejected.  |
| .9   | 13  | I tried it, but the group pressured me to leave perhaps due to poor grades, financial difficulties or social misconduct. |

money" as reasons they were not actively participating as members of Greek organizations. Three other reasons were nearly as popular: "I do not have enough time" (40.1%); "I do not subscribe to the same values as Greeks" (38.8%); and "It would interfere with my studies" (34.5%).

Tables 4-21 through 4-30 present percentages and chi-squares for various comparison groups. It is interesting to note that all but three of the tables contain statistically significant gender differences. Only DISUNMAR, MARETH, and MARRAC produced interchangeable results for men and women. Thus men and women were equally and overwhelmingly likely to report that they would be disappointed if they never married.

Also, the personal homogamy variables were equally important to men and women with the exception of MARSOCCL; women were significantly more likely ( $p < .05$ ) to prefer to marry men of their same social class or above.

The tables also reveal a pattern of increasing conservatism for those who are men in comparison to women, for those who have rushed a Greek organization in comparison to those who have not rushed a Greek organization, for those who have participated in a Greek organization in comparison to those who have not participated in a Greek organization, and for those who are currently active in a Greek organization in comparison to those who are inactive in their respective Greek organizations, for women who have been affiliated with fraternity Little Sister programs at any time in comparison to women who have never been affiliated with a fraternity Little Sister program, and for current Little Sisters in comparison to inactive Little Sisters. A notable exception to this pattern is that women who have been associated with a fraternity Little Sister program were the least likely of any group to say they would be disappointed if they were to learn that they would never marry (Table 4-26).

Because of the small number of members in predominantly black Greek organizations ( $n < 20$ ), members of black Greek organizations could not be compared to members of non-black Greek organizations (e.g. those with predominantly "white," non-Jewish memberships as well as those with predominantly

Jewish memberships). However, members of "white" organizations (again, defined as non-Jewish white organizations) could be compared to Greeks belonging to Jewish and black Greek organizations. Also, members of Jewish organizations could be compared to members of "white" and black Greek organizations.

The results of these comparisons found significant differences ( $p < .05$ ) between the groups on variables which did pertain to ethnic, racial or social class homogamy. This pattern was especially true for men.

Overall, students did not report a preference to date Greeks over independents (see Table 4-30). Just under half of the students (44.60%) said they prefer to date Greeks with more men (49.36%) preferring to date Greeks than women (41.09%). However, currently active fraternity men (86.78%), fraternity Little Sisters (80.00%), and sorority women (77.36%) overwhelmingly prefer to date Greeks. It is interesting to note that inactive fraternity men, Little Sisters and sorority women are much lower and closely resemble the rates of preference for the overall campus. Chi-squares for each of these comparisons were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

#### Hypotheses

Based on the research presented in the literature review presented, hypotheses were generated to predict patterns regarding gender role attitudes, homogamy preferences and participation in Greek organizations.

Table 4-21: When a man and a woman go out on a date for the first time, the man should pay for all of the expenses incurred (FIRSTDAT, n=1,795).

|                 | <u>Agree</u>   | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 68.86% (1,236) | 31.14% (559)    | NA                  |
| Women           | 62.23 (636)    | 37.77 (386)     | $\chi^2=48.604$     |
| Men             | 77.62 (173)    | 22.38 (173)     | $p=.000***$         |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |                |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 66.55 (204)    | 32.45 (98)      | $\chi^2=5.098$      |
| Didn't rush     | 60.00 (414)    | 73.80 (276)     | $p=.024^*$          |
| Joined          | 71.78 (173)    | 28.22 (68)      | $\chi^2=11.037$     |
| Didn't join     | 49.15 (29)     | 50.85 (30)      | $p=.001***$         |
| White org.      | 67.70 (153)    | 32.30 (73)      | $\chi^2=.029$       |
| Non-white org.  | 68.85 (42)     | 31.15 (19)      | $p=.864$            |
| Jewish org.     | 69.09 (38)     | 30.91 (157)     | $\chi^2=.041$       |
| Non-Jewish org. | 67.67 (157)    | 32.33 (75)      | $p=.761$            |
| Active          | 72.87 (137)    | 27.13 (51)      | $\chi^2=6.467$      |
| Inactive        | 59.02 (72)     | 40.98 (50)      | $p=.011^{**}$       |
| Lil Sis         | 66.04 (35)     | 33.96 (18)      | $\chi^2=.343$       |
| not Lil Sis     | 62.03 (598)    | 37.97 (366)     | $p=.558$            |
| Active L.S.     | 69.23 (18)     | 30.77 (8)       | $\chi^2=.232$       |
| Inactive L.S.   | 62.96 (17)     | 37.04 (10)      | $p=.630$            |
| <u>MEN</u>      |                |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 82.58 (275)    | 17.42 (58)      | $\chi^2=.008$       |
| Didn't rush     | 74.45 (306)    | 25.55 (105)     | $p=.008^{**}$       |
| Joined          | 83.78 (186)    | 16.22 (36)      | $\chi^2=.668$       |
| Didn't join     | 80.18 (89)     | 19.82 (22)      | $p=.414$            |
| White org.      | 83.77 (222)    | 16.23 (43)      | $\chi^2=.420$       |
| Non-white org.  | 80.33 (49)     | 19.67 (12)      | $p=.517$            |
| Jewish org.     | 82.35 (42)     | 17.65 (9)       | $\chi^2=.026$       |
| Non-Jewish org. | 83.27 (229)    | 16.73 (46)      | $p=.872$            |
| Active          | 88.11 (126)    | 11.89 (17)      | $\chi^2=5.431$      |
| Inactive        | 78.35 (152)    | 21.65 (42)      | $p=.020^*$          |

\* $p<.05$ \*\* $p<.01$ \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-22: When a man and a woman get married, the woman should take the man's last name (TAKENAME, n=1,767).

|                                   | <u>Agree</u>  | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample                     | 75.83%(1,340) | 24.17%(427)     | NA                  |
| Women                             | 66.67 (668)   | 33.33 (334)     | $\chi^2=106.155$    |
| Men                               | 87.84 (672)   | 12.16 (93)      | $p=.000***$         |
| <u>WOMEN</u>                      |               |                 |                     |
| Rushed                            | 73.38 (215)   | 26.62 (78)      | $\chi^2=8.665$      |
| Didn't rush                       | 63.68 (433)   | 36.32 (247)     | $p=.003**$          |
| Joined                            | 76.82 (179)   | 23.18 (54)      | $\chi^2=5.240$      |
| Didn't join                       | 62.07 (36)    | 37.93 (22)      | $p=.022*$           |
| White org.                        | 74.77 (163)   | 25.23 (55)      | $\chi^2=.857$       |
| Non-white org.                    | 68.85 (42)    | 31.15 (19)      | $p=.355$            |
| Jewish org.                       | 70.91 (39)    | 29.09 (16)      | $\chi^2=232$        |
| Non-Jewish org.                   | 74.11 (166)   | 25.89 (58)      | $p=.630$            |
| Active                            | 78.26 (144)   | 21.74 (40)      | $\chi^2=6.976$      |
| Inactive                          | 64.41 (76)    | 35.59 (42)      | $p=.008**$          |
| Lil Sis                           | 75.51 (37)    | 24.49 (12)      | $\chi^2=1.763$      |
| not Lil Sis                       | 66.35 (629)   | 33.65 (319)     | $p=.184$            |
| Active L.S.                       | 91.67 (22)    | 8.33 (2)        | $\chi^2=6.640$      |
| Inactive L.S.                     | 60.00 (15)    | 40.00 (10)      | $p=.010*$           |
| <u>MEN</u>                        |               |                 |                     |
| Rushed                            | 91.77 (301)   | 8.23 (27)       | $\chi^2=6.374$      |
| Didn't rush                       | 85.78 (350)   | 14.22 (58)      | $p=.012**$          |
| Joined                            | 93.15 (204)   | 6.85 (15)       | $\chi^2=1.667$      |
| Didn't join                       | 88.99 (97)    | 11.01 (12)      | $p=.197$            |
| White org.                        | 91.95 (240)   | 8.05 (21)       | $\chi^2=.005$       |
| Non-white org.                    | 91.67 (55)    | 8.33 (5)        | $p=.941$            |
| Jewish org.                       | 92.16 (47)    | 7.84 (4)        | $\chi^2=.005$       |
| Non-Jewish org.                   | 91.85 (248)   | 8.15 (22)       | $p=.942$            |
| Active                            | 95.07 (135)   | 4.93 (7)        | $\chi^2=3.945$      |
| Inactive                          | 88.95 (169)   | 11.05 (21)      | $p=.047*$           |
| * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$ |               |                 |                     |

Table 4-23: I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone who practices a different religion (FAMREL, n=1,787).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 13.88 (248)% | 86.12%(1,539)   | NA                  |
| Women           | 10.42 (106)  | 89.58 (911)     | $\chi^2=23.575$     |
| Men             | 18.44 (142)  | 81.56 (628)     | $p=.000***$         |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 16.11 (48)   | 83.89 (250)     | $\chi^2=14.112$     |
| Didn't rush     | 8.12 (56)    | 91.88 (634)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 16.88 (40)   | 83.12 (197)     | $\chi^2=.383$       |
| Didn't join     | 13.56 (8)    | 86.44 (51)      | $p=.536$            |
| White org.      | 11.71 (26)   | 88.29 (196)     | $\chi^2=13.517$     |
| Non-white org.  | 31.15 (19)   | 68.85 (42)      | $p=.000***$         |
| Jewish org.     | 34.55 (19)   | 65.45 (36)      | $\chi^2=17.746$     |
| Non-Jewish org. | 11.40 (26)   | 88.60 (202)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Active          | 17.84 (33)   | 82.16 (152)     | $\chi^2=1.158$      |
| Inactive        | 13.22 (16)   | 86.78 (105)     | $p=.282$            |
| Lil Sis         | 13.21 (7)    | 86.79 (46)      | $\chi^2=.446$       |
| not Lil Sis     | 10.32 (99)   | 89.68 (860)     | $p=.504$            |
| Active L.S.     | 23.08 (6)    | 76.92 (20)      | $\chi^2=4.337$      |
| Inactive L.S.   | 3.70 (1)     | 96.30 (26)      | $p=.037$            |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 23.49 (78)   | 76.51 (254)     | $\chi^2=9.415$      |
| Didn't rush     | 14.67 (60)   | 85.33 (349)     | $p=.002**$          |
| Joined          | 23.87 (53)   | 76.13 (169)     | $\chi^2=.174$       |
| Didn't join     | 21.82 (24)   | 78.18 (86)      | $p=.676$            |
| White org.      | 19.25 (51)   | 80.75 (214)     | $\chi^2=11.872$     |
| Non-white org.  | 40.00 (24)   | 60.00 (36)      | $p=.001***$         |
| Jewish org.     | 46.15 (24)   | 53.85 (28)      | $\chi^2=18.571$     |
| Non-Jewish org. | 18.68 (51)   | 81.32 (222)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Active          | 24.31 (35)   | 75.69 (109)     | $\chi^2=.410$       |
| Inactive        | 21.35 (41)   | 78.65 (151)     | $p=.522$            |

\*p&lt;.05

\*\*p&lt;.01

\*\*\*p&lt;.001

Table 4-24: I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of another race (FAMRAC, n=1,796).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 37.44% (665) | 62.56% (1,111)  | NA                  |
| Women           | 34.09 (344)  | 65.91 (665)     | $\chi^2=11.197$     |
| Men             | 41.85 (321)  | 43.19 (446)     | $p=.001***$         |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 32.89 (98)   | 67.11 (200)     | $\chi^2=40.306$     |
| Didn't rush     | 15.12 (104)  | 84.88 (584)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 37.13 (88)   | 62.87 (149)     | $\chi^2=8.688$      |
| Didn't join     | 16.95 (10)   | 83.05 (49)      | $p=.003**$          |
| White org.      | 33.33 (74)   | 66.67 (148)     | $\chi^2=.006$       |
| Non-white org.  | 32.79 (20)   | 67.21 (41)      | $p=.936$            |
| Jewish org.     | 34.55 (19)   | 65.45 (36)      | $\chi^2=.054$       |
| Non-Jewish org. | 32.89 (75)   | 67.11 (153)     | $p=.816$            |
| Active          | 38.04 (70)   | 61.96 (114)     | $\chi^2=6.828$      |
| Inactive        | 23.77 (29)   | 76.23 (93)      | $p=.009**$          |
| Lil Sis         | 33.96 (18)   | 66.04 (35)      | $\chi^2=6.364$      |
| not Lil Sis     | 19.62 (188)  | 80.38 (770)     | $p=.012**$          |
| Active L.S.     | 34.62 (9)    | 65.38 (17)      | $\chi^2=.010$       |
| Inactive L.S.   | 33.33 (9)    | 66.67 (18)      | $p=.922$            |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 37.95 (126)  | 62.05 (206)     | $\chi^2=14.567$     |
| Didn't rush     | 24.94 (102)  | 75.06 (307)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 40.99 (91)   | 59.01 (131)     | $\chi^2=2.628$      |
| Didn't join     | 31.82 (35)   | 68.18 (75)      | $p=.105$            |
| White org.      | 36.74 (97)   | 63.26 (167)     | $\chi^2=1.756$      |
| Non-white org.  | 45.90 (28)   | 54.10 (33)      | $p=.185$            |
| Jewish org.     | 46.15 (24)   | 53.85 (28)      | $\chi^2=1.548$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 37.00 (101)  | 63.00 (172)     | $p=.213$            |
| Active          | 44.44 (64)   | 55.56 (80)      | $\chi^2=5.185$      |
| Inactive        | 32.29 (62)   | 67.71 (130)     | $p=.023*$           |

\* $p<.05$       \*\* $p<.01$       \*\*\* $p<.001$



Table 4-25: I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of a different ethnic background (FAMETH, n=1,793).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 15.73% (282) | 84.27% (1,511)  | NA                  |
| Women           | 11.27 (115)  | 88.73 (905)     | $\chi^2=35.401$     |
| Men             | 21.60 (167)  | 78.40 (606)     | $p=0.000***$        |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 20.33 (61)   | 79.67 (239)     | $\chi^2=35.010$     |
| Didn't rush     | 7.38 (51)    | 92.62 (640)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 23.01 (55)   | 76.99 (184)     | $\chi^2=4.794$      |
| Didn't join     | 10.17 (6)    | 89.83 (53)      | $p=.029*$           |
| White org.      | 19.20 (43)   | 80.80 (181)     | $\chi^2=2.170$      |
| Non-white org.  | 27.87 (17)   | 72.13 (44)      | $p=.141$            |
| Jewish org.     | 29.09 (16)   | 70.91 (39)      | $\chi^2=2.649$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 19.13 (44)   | 80.87 (186)     | $p=.104$            |
| Active          | 22.58 (42)   | 77.42 (144)     | $\chi^2=1.305$      |
| Inactive        | 17.21 (21)   | 82.79 (101)     | $p=.253$            |
| Lil Sis         | 13.21 (7)    | 86.79 (46)      | $\chi^2=.219$       |
| not Lil Sis     | 11.12 (107)  | 88.88 (855)     | $p=.640$            |
| Active L.S.     | 15.38 (4)    | 84.62 (22)      | $\chi^2=.211$       |
| Inactive L.S.   | 11.11 (3)    | 88.89 (24)      | $p=.646$            |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 29.04 (97)   | 70.96 (237)     | $\chi^2=17.277$     |
| Didn't rush     | 16.34 (67)   | 83.66 (343)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 30.94 (69)   | 69.06 (154)     | $\chi^2=1.175$      |
| Didn't join     | 25.23 (28)   | 74.77 (83)      | $p=.278$            |
| White org.      | 26.79 (71)   | 73.21 (194)     | $\chi^2=4.435$      |
| Non-white org.  | 40.32 (25)   | 59.68 (37)      | $p=.035*$           |
| Jewish org.     | 40.38 (21)   | 59.62 (31)      | $\chi^2=3.625$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 27.27 (75)   | 72.73 (200)     | $p=.057$            |
| Active          | 33.33 (48)   | 66.67 (96)      | $\chi^2=2.634$      |
| Inactive        | 25.26 (49)   | 74.74 (145)     | $p=.105$            |

\* $p<.05$       \*\* $p<.01$       \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-26: Only for those who are currently unmarried (single, engaged, living with partner, divorced, widowed):  
18. I would be disappointed if I were to learn that I would never marry (DISUNMAR, n=1,712).

|                 | <u>Agree</u>   | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 86.92% (1,488) | 13.08% (224)    | NA                  |
| Women           | 87.69 (855)    | 12.31 (120)     | $\chi^2=1.201$      |
| Men             | 85.89 (633)    | 14.11 (104)     | $p=.273$            |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |                |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 94.83 (275)    | 5.17 (15)       | $\chi^2=19.850$     |
| Didn't rush     | 84.50 (556)    | 15.50 (102)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 94.81 (219)    | 5.19 (12)       | $\chi^2=.000$       |
| Didn't join     | 94.74 (54)     | 5.26 (3)        | $p=.983$            |
| White org.      | 93.98 (203)    | 6.02 (13)       | $\chi^2=.621$       |
| Non-white org.  | 96.61 (57)     | 3.39 (2)        | $p=.431$            |
| Jewish org.     | 98.11 (52)     | 1.89 (1)        | $\chi^2=1.620$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 93.69 (208)    | 6.31 (14)       | $p=.203$            |
| Active          | 95.03 (172)    | 4.97 (9)        | $\chi^2=.485$       |
| Inactive        | 93.10 (108)    | 6.90 (8)        | $p=.486$            |
| Lil Sis         | 80.00 (40)     | 20.00 (10)      | $\chi^2=2.940$      |
| not Lil Sis     | 88.17 (812)    | 11.83 (109)     | $p=.086$            |
| Active L.S.     | 80.00 (20)     | 20.00 (5)       | $\chi^2=.000$       |
| Inactive L.S.   | 80.00 (20)     | 20.00 (5)       | $p=1.000$           |
| <u>MEN</u>      |                |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 90.37 (291)    | 9.63 (31)       | $\chi^2=9.674$      |
| Didn't rush     | 82.22 (319)    | 17.78 (69)      | $p=.002**$          |
| Joined          | 92.09 (198)    | 7.91 (17)       | $\chi^2=2.982$      |
| Didn't join     | 85.98 (92)     | 14.02 (15)      | $p=.084$            |
| White org.      | 90.20 (230)    | 9.80 (25)       | $\chi^2=.002$       |
| Non-white org.  | 90.00 (54)     | 10.00 (6)       | $p=.963$            |
| Jewish org.     | 92.16 (47)     | 7.84 (4)        | $\chi^2=.274$       |
| Non-Jewish org. | 89.77 (237)    | 10.23 (27)      | $p=.601$            |
| Active          | 92.91 (131)    | 7.09 (10)       | $\chi^2=2.128$      |
| Inactive        | 88.04 (162)    | 11.96 (22)      | $p=.145$            |

\* $p<.05$     \*\* $p<.01$     \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-27: Only for those who are currently unmarried (single, engaged, living with partner, divorced, widowed):  
 21. While I might casually date someone who is of a different race, I only would want to marry someone of my race (MARRAC, n=1,691).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 53.52% (905) | 46.48% (786)    | NA                  |
| Women           | 53.80 (517)  | 46.20 (444)     | $\chi^2=.070$       |
| Men             | 53.15 (388)  | 46.85 (342)     | $p=.791$            |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 65.61 (187)  | 34.39 (98)      | $\chi^2=21.821$     |
| Didn't rush     | 49.08 (319)  | 50.92 (331)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 68.58 (155)  | 31.42 (71)      | $\chi^2=4.073$      |
| Didn't join     | 54.39 (31)   | 45.61 (26)      | $p=.044*$           |
| White org.      | 63.85 (136)  | 36.15 (77)      | $\chi^2=.793$       |
| Non-white org.  | 70.18 (40)   | 29.82 (17)      | $p=.373$            |
| Jewish org.     | 69.23 (36)   | 30.77 (16)      | $\chi^2=.464$       |
| Non-Jewish org. | 64.22 (140)  | 35.78 (78)      | $p=.496$            |
| Active          | 67.23 (119)  | 32.77 (58)      | $\chi^2=1.236$      |
| Inactive        | 60.87 (70)   | 39.13 (45)      | $p=.266$            |
| Lil Sis         | 71.43 (35)   | 28.57 (14)      | $\chi^2=6.447$      |
| not Lil Sis     | 52.86 (480)  | 47.14 (428)     | $p=.011**$          |
| Active L.S.     | 84.00 (21)   | 16.00 (4)       | $\chi^2=3.953$      |
| Inactive L.S.   | 58.33 (14)   | 41.67 (10)      | $p=.047*$           |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 61.32 (195)  | 38.68 (123)     | $\chi^2=14.072$     |
| Didn't rush     | 47.14 (181)  | 52.86 (203)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 63.68 (135)  | 36.32 (77)      | $\chi^2=1.492$      |
| Didn't join     | 56.60 (60)   | 43.40 (46)      | $p=.222$            |
| White org.      | 58.96 (148)  | 41.04 (103)     | $\chi^2=2.481$      |
| Non-white org.  | 70.00 (42)   | 30.00 (18)      | $p=.115$            |
| Jewish org.     | 73.08 (38)   | 26.92 (14)      | $\chi^2=3.772$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 58.69 (152)  | 41.31 (107)     | $p=.052*$           |
| Active          | 68.09 (96)   | 31.91 (45)      | $\chi^2=5.036$      |
| Inactive        | 55.80 (101)  | 44.20 (80)      | $p=.024*$           |

\* $p<.05$     \*\* $p<.01$     \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-28: Only for those who are currently unmarried (single, engaged, living with partner, divorced, widowed):  
 22. While I might casually date someone who is of a different ethnicity, I would want to marry someone of my ethnicity (MARETH, n=1,691).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 39.33% (665) | 60.67% (1,026)  | NA                  |
| Women           | 38.53 (371)  | 61.47 (592)     | $\chi^2=.601$       |
| Men             | 40.38 (294)  | 59.62 (728)     | $p=.438$            |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 50.00 (143)  | 50.00 (143)     | $\chi^2=22.592$     |
| Didn't rush     | 33.59 (219)  | 66.41 (433)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 53.10 (120)  | 46.90 (106)     | $\chi^2=4.247$      |
| Didn't join     | 37.93 (22)   | 62.07 (36)      | $p=.039*$           |
| White org.      | 47.89 (102)  | 52.11 (111)     | $\chi^2=1.480$      |
| Non-white org.  | 56.90 (33)   | 43.10 (25)      | $p=.224$            |
| Jewish org.     | 59.62 (31)   | 40.38 (21)      | $\chi^2=2.472$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 47.49 (104)  | 52.51 (115)     | $p=.116$            |
| Active          | 52.54 (93)   | 47.46 (84)      | $\chi^2=1.873$      |
| Inactive        | 44.35 (51)   | 55.65 (64)      | $p=.171$            |
| Lil Sis         | 40.82 (20)   | 59.18 (29)      | $\chi^2=.109$       |
| not Lil Sis     | 38.46 (350)  | 61.54 (560)     | $p=.742$            |
| Active L.S.     | 60.00 (15)   | 40.00 (10)      | $\chi^2=7.776$      |
| Inactive L.S.   | 20.83 (5)    | 79.17 (19)      | $p=.005**$          |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 49.21 (156)  | 50.79 (161)     | $\chi^2=16.734$     |
| Didn't rush     | 33.94 (130)  | 66.06 (253)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 50.71 (107)  | 49.29 (104)     | $\chi^2=.568$       |
| Didn't join     | 46.23 (49)   | 53.77 (57)      | $p=.451$            |
| White org.      | 46.40 (116)  | 53.60 (134)     | $\chi^2=4.512$      |
| Non-white org.  | 67.67 (37)   | 38.33 (23)      | $p=.034*$           |
| Jewish org.     | 65.38 (34)   | 34.62 (18)      | $\chi^2=6.423$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 46.12 (119)  | 53.88 (139)     | $p=.011**$          |
| Active          | 53.96 (75)   | 46.04 (64)      | $\chi^2=2.818$      |
| Inactive        | 44.51 (81)   | 55.49 (101)     | $p=.093$            |

\* $p<.05$     \*\* $p<.01$     \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-29: Only for those who are currently unmarried (single, engaged, living with partner, divorced, widowed):  
 23. While I might casually date someone who is of a lower social class, I only would want to marry someone from my social class (or higher) (MARSOCCL, n=1,693).

|                 | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 29.05%(507)  | 70.05%(1,186)   | NA                  |
| Women           | 35.69 (343)  | 64.31 (618)     | $\chi^2=34.970$     |
| Men             | 22.40 (164)  | 77.60 (568)     | $p=.000***$         |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 47.90 (137)  | 52.10 (149)     | $\chi^2=26.622$     |
| Didn't rush     | 30.35 (197)  | 69.65 (452)     | $p=.000***$         |
| Joined          | 50.22 (114)  | 49.78 (113)     | $\chi^2=2.467$      |
| Didn't join     | 38.60 (22)   | 61.40 (35)      | $p=.116$            |
| White org.      | 46.73 (100)  | 53.27 (114)     | $\chi^2=.628$       |
| Non-white org.  | 52.63 (30)   | 47.37 (27)      | $p=.428$            |
| Jewish org.     | 55.77 (29)   | 44.23 (23)      | $\chi^2=1.568$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 46.12 (101)  | 53.88 (118)     | $p=.210$            |
| Active          | 50.56 (90)   | 49.44 (88)      | $\chi^2=1.405$      |
| Inactive        | 43.48 (50)   | 56.52 (65)      | $p=.236$            |
| Lil Sis         | 51.02 (25)   | 48.98 (24)      | $\chi^2=5.253$      |
| not Lil Sis     | 34.91 (317)  | 65.09 (591)     | $p=.022*$           |
| Active L.S.     | 64.00 (16)   | 36.00 (9)       | $\chi^2=3.441$      |
| Inactive L.S.   | 37.50 (9)    | 62.50 (15)      | $p=.064$            |
| <u>MEN</u>      |              |                 |                     |
| Rushed          | 25.39 (81)   | 74.61 (238)     | $\chi^2=3.603$      |
| Didn't rush     | 19.43 (75)   | 80.57 (311)     | $p=.058$            |
| Joined          | 27.23 (58)   | 72.77 (155)     | $\chi^2=1.143$      |
| Didn't join     | 21.70 (23)   | 78.30 (83)      | $p=.285$            |
| White org.      | 22.71 (57)   | 77.29 (194)     | $\chi^2=5.788$      |
| Non-white org.  | 37.70 (23)   | 62.30 (38)      | $p=.016*$           |
| Jewish org.     | 38.46 (20)   | 61.54 (32)      | $\chi^2=5.379$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 23.08 (60)   | 76.92 (200)     | $p=.020*$           |
| Active          | 26.43 (37)   | 73.57 (103)     | $\chi^2=.121$       |
| Inactive        | 24.73 (45)   | 75.27 (137)     | $p=.728$            |

\* $p<.05$     \*\* $p<.01$     \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 4-30: Distribution of GREEKSEX, 1995 (n=1,462). (If you found out that someone where Greek, would you be more or less interested in dating him/her [or having an affair].)

|                 | <u>More<br/>interested</u> | <u>Less<br/>interested</u> | <u>Significance</u> |
|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Entire sample   | 44.60% (616)               | 55.40% (810)               | NA                  |
| Women           | 41.09 (355)                | 58.91 (509)                | $\chi^2=10.057$     |
| Men             | 49.36 (309)                | 50.64 (317)                | $p=.002^{**}$       |
| <u>WOMEN</u>    |                            |                            |                     |
| Rushed          | 60.63 (154)                | 39.37 (100)                | $\chi^2=57.716$     |
| Didn't rush     | 32.60 (193)                | 67.40 (399)                | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| Joined          | 67.49 (137)                | 32.51 (66)                 | $\chi^2=19.919$     |
| Didn't join     | 33.33 (17)                 | 66.67 (34)                 | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| White org.      | 61.26 (117)                | 38.74 (74)                 | $\chi^2=.502$       |
| Non-white org.  | 66.67 (34)                 | 33.33 (17)                 | $p=.479$            |
| Jewish org.     | 68.75 (33)                 | 31.25 (15)                 | $\chi^2=1.030$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 60.82 (118)                | 39.18 (76)                 | $p=.310$            |
| Active          | 77.36 (123)                | 22.64 (36)                 | $\chi^2=51.193$     |
| Inactive        | 33.01 (34)                 | 66.99 (69)                 | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| Lil Sis         | 65.31 (32)                 | 34.69 (17)                 | $\chi^2=12.665$     |
| not Lil Sis     | 39.56 (322)                | 60.44 (492)                | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| Active L.S.     | 80.00 (20)                 | 20.00 (5)                  | $\chi^2=4.864$      |
| Inactive L.S.   | 50.00 (12)                 | 50.00 (12)                 | $p=.027^*$          |
| <u>MEN</u>      |                            |                            |                     |
| Rushed          | 64.87 (181)                | 35.13 (98)                 | $\chi^2=48.142$     |
| Didn't rush     | 36.80 (124)                | 63.20 (213)                | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| Joined          | 73.77 (135)                | 26.23 (48)                 | $\chi^2=18.470$     |
| Didn't join     | 47.92 (46)                 | 52.08 (50)                 | $p=.000^{***}$      |
| White org.      | 63.68 (142)                | 36.32 (81)                 | $\chi^2=.574$       |
| Non-white org.  | 69.39 (34)                 | 30.61 (15)                 | $p=.449$            |
| Jewish org.     | 72.50 (29)                 | 27.50 (11)                 | $\chi^2=1.247$      |
| Non-Jewish org. | 63.36 (147)                | 36.64 (85)                 | $p=.264$            |
| Active          | 86.78 (105)                | 13.22 (16)                 | $\chi^2=45.107$     |
| Inactive        | 48.13 (77)                 | 51.88 (83)                 | $p=.000^{***}$      |

\* $p<.05$     \*\* $p<.01$     \*\*\* $p<.001$

Hypotheses Regarding Gender Role Attitudes  
and Homogamy Preferences

Hypotheses for gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences were developed in tandem. The hypotheses for participation in Greek organizations were developed separately. These hypotheses will be tested in the logistic regression models that follow.

Regarding gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences, *the following characteristics are expected of those who have more conservative opinions:*

\* More likely to be freshmen. AGE will be negatively associated with gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences because students tend to become more liberal during their undergraduate years.

\* Male (GENDER=0). Men generally tend to be more conservative than women in regard to gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences.

\* Ever married (MSTAT=1). This variable is contained only on the models in which all respondents--regardless of marital status are included, e.g. FIRSTDAT, TAKENAME, FAMREL, FAMRAC and FAMETH). The reason for this prediction is that marriage tends to make people more conservative.

- \* Less educated parents (MOMED=0, DADED=0). Higher education tends to make people more liberal in their views.
- \* Non-white collar parents (WHITECOL=0, WHITECCO=0). As a proxy for social class, those with white collar jobs will be more highly educated and liberal in their views.
- \* More likely to prefer dating Greeks (GREEKSEX=1). People with conservative attitudes will want to date others like them and prior research has documented that Greeks are more politically and socially conservative than independents.
- \* More likely to be members of Greek organizations. Fraternities and sororities tend to reinforce traditional, conservative gender role attitudes and maintain rituals which emphasize homogeneity.
- \* More likely to frequently attend church (CHURCH=1).
- \* More likely to identify with organized religion (PROTEST=1, CATHOLIC=1, JEWISH=1, OTHERREL=1).
- \* More likely to be white, non-Hispanic (the race/ethnicity omitted group). Often it is difficult for those



in the majority to empathize with minority opinions which are then labeled "liberal."

\* More likely to have continuously married parents (PARENTOG=1). Such persons will have had a more traditional setting to learn gender role attitudes and homogamy norms.

\* Less likely to have a mother who worked in paid labor before the respondent entered school (MOMWORKD=0). Such persons would be less likely to have learned conservative gender role attitudes and homogamy norms since they had a more liberal upbringing.

\* More likely to have grown up in the U.S. (GREWUSA=1). Those who grew up in the U.S. will be more likely to have been socialized to believe men should pay for first date, women should assume their husbands' surnames, and that homogamy is important.

#### Predictions Regarding Participation in a Greek Organizations

Regarding participation in a Greek organization, the following characteristics are expected of those who have pledged and/or joined fraternities and sororities:

\* Men (GENDER=1) will be more likely to be active members of Greek organizations because the Greek system emphasizes paternalistic traditions and values and reinforces the sexual double standard.

\* More educated parents (MOMED=1, DADED=1). More education would predict the ability to pay for the child's education and sorority/fraternity expenses.

\* White collar parents (WHITECOL=1, WHITECCO=1). White collar parents would be more likely to subscribe to the same values as Greeks and would be economically better able to afford membership in a Greek organization.

\* More likely to prefer dating Greeks (GREEKSEX=1). Having used the Greek organization as a springboard to meeting affiliated members of the opposite sex, it is likely that Greeks prefer to date other Greeks.

\* Less likely to frequently attend church (CHURCH=1). People with liberal attitudes toward alcohol are less likely to attend church (Cochran et al., 1992), and previous research which has documented the correlation between regular drinking and membership in a Greek organization (Caterbury et al., 1989; Haworth-Hoeppner, 1989).

\* More likely to identify with organized religion (PROTEST=1, CATHOLIC=1, JEWISH=1, OTHERREL=1). Many of the sororities and fraternities are based on principles derived from the traditions of organized religion.

\* More likely to be white, non-Hispanic (the race/ethnicity omitted group). The largest sororities and fraternities are those with predominantly white membership.

\* More likely to have continuously married parents (PARENTOG=1). Such persons will have had a more traditional setting to learn gender role attitudes and homogamy norms.

\* Less likely to have a mother who worked in paid labor before the respondent entered school (MOMWORKD=0). Such persons would be less likely to have learned conservative gender role attitudes and homogamy norms since they had a more liberal upbringing.

\* More likely to have grown up in the U.S. (GREWUSA=1) Those who grew up in the U.S. will be more likely to have been socialized to believe men should pay for first date, women should assume their husbands' surnames, and that homogamy is important.

\* More likely to report that one or both parents were members of college Greek organizations (GREEKMOM=1, GREEKDAD=1). Rushees who are legacies are given special consideration.

\* More likely to have conservative gender role attitudes (FIRSTDAT=1 and TAKENAME=1) and more likely to highly value homogamy for family members (FAMREL=1, FAMRAC=1, FAMETH=1). These projections are made in light of previous research has shown that Greeks have more conservative attitudes than independents.

### Procedures

In addition, logistic regression models were designed to compare respondents who were currently active in the Greek system (as pledges, colony members or initiated sisters or brothers) in comparison to those who were not currently active or who have never been affiliated with the Greek system.

### Selection of Variables for Models

Crossclassification tables were calculated for men and women of varying Greek statuses. The most salient variables (based on having a p value of less than .05 to distinguish between persons who had some form of association with a Greek organization and those who did not) were selected for

inclusion in logistic regression models. The most salient variables to distinguish between Greeks and independents were as follows: FIRSTDAT, TAKENAME, FAMREL, FAMRAC and FAMETH. Four other variables, DISUNMAR, MARRAC, MARETH and MARSOCCL, were perhaps even more salient but resulted from questions which were asked only of respondents who were not currently married (98% of the sample). Thus when these four variables were modeled, marital status was not included as an independent variable and the model represents only those students who are not currently married.

The aforementioned five salient variables (FIRSTDAT, TAKENAME, FAMREL, FAMFAC and FAMETH) also were used as predictors of Greek membership in general and then separately in models predicting sorority membership and fraternity membership. In the latter two models gender was not used as a predictor variable since all sorors must be women and all fraters must be men.

## CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

### Logistic Regression Models

The results of the first four components of this study reveal strong evidence that sororities and fraternities reinforce traditional gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences. The logistic regression models were created to determine which has a greater impact on gender role attitudes and attitudes toward homogamy: background characteristics (such as social class, religion and gender) or participation in Greek organizations and/or desire to date Greeks. It is hypothesized that gender role attitudes would influence who is likely to join and remain active in a Greek organization; persons with more conservative gender role attitudes would be expected to be more likely to pledge and remain active in a Greek organization. Also, persons who have strong homogamy preferences are expected to have pledged and remained active in Greek organizations at higher rates than persons without such preferences. In addition, it is expected that both the gender role attitudes and Greek membership would be predicted by the same background characteristics.

In preparation for the logistic regression modeling (using SAS for Unix), all of the attitudinal variables were dichotomized into agree (the categories strongly agree and agree were collapsed) and disagree (the categories strongly disagree and disagree were collapsed). Based on Greek/independent differences noted in crosstabulations two gender role attitudes--FIRSTDAT and TAKENAME--were selected from the questionnaire. Also, all of the family homogamy variables (FAMREL, FAMRAC and FAMETH) were modeled as well as the personal homogamy variables (MARRAC, MARETH and MARSOCCL). And finally ACTIVE was modeled to reveal the profile of currently active Greeks in comparison to independents.

It should be noted that the definition of Greek in this section refers only to respondents who were currently active in the Greek system at the time of this survey. *Students who were inactive Greeks as well as those who were never involved with the Greek system were all included in the independent (non-fraternity/non-sorority) categories.* The reason for this is that the Greek system appears to have a very high drop-out level, and many former Greeks cited a difference in values with the institutions (see Table 4-20). Thus those who remain Greek are those who are most likely to agree on conservative gender roles and homogamy.

The models for predicting gender role attitudes and the results of each logistic regression follow. In the case of all attitudinal variables, the models were predicting agreement

with the statement as opposed to disagreement. Cases in which the respondent did not answer or provided an answer other than agreement or disagreement were set to missing values. The number of respondents included in each model differs because of slight differences in missing data for each question; thus the frequencies for each model are given below the regression coefficients.

The results of the first three logistic regression models are displayed in Table 5-1. The dependent variable in all cases is FIRSTDAT. Overall, the statistically significant predictors of believing a man should pay for the first date include male gender, being an active member of a Greek organization, being of Protestant or Catholic faith (as opposed to having no religion), and regularly attending religious services. Non-Hispanic blacks and respondents with college-educated mothers were much *less* likely to believe that men should pay for a first date. Respondents who were active Greeks were nearly twice as likely to believe men should pay for a first heterosexual date in comparison to independents.

The middle columns of Table 5-1 illustrate the results of a logistic regression of FIRSTDAT for men only, while the columns on the right illustrate the results of a logistic regression of FIRSTDAT for women only. All of the variables from the first column were included in the middle and far right columns with the obvious exception of gender. (This pattern continues for the remaining tables in Chapter 5.)



For men, the statistically significant predictors ( $p < .05$ ) of who should pay for first heterosexual dates, include identification with Protestantism or Catholicism in comparison to men with no religious preference, who were more likely to agree that men should pay. Also, men who frequently attend religious services were more likely than men who do not frequently attend religious services to believe that men should pay for first dates. However, non-Hispanic black men were extremely unlikely to believe that men should pay for first dates. Active participation in a fraternity was not statistically significant.

For women, Protestants were more likely than women without a religious preference to believe that men should pay for first dates. Also, current sorority women were 75% as likely as non-sorority women to believe that men should pay for first dates.

Table 5-2 displays the results of a logistic regression models for the dependent variable, TAKENAME. Overall, the variables which predict the belief that a woman should assume her husband's surname upon marriage included male gender, younger age, active participation in the Greek system, and identification with any of the major religious groups (as opposed to having no religion or identifying with a minority religious group). The variables which predicted disagreement with the tradition of a woman's name change upon marriage included: older ages, female gender, Hispanic origin, and

Table 5-1: Modeling FIRSTDAT for all respondents, 1995.

(Models agreement with the following statement: When a man and a woman go out on a date for the first time, the man should pay for all expenses incurred.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .0001***               | .436              | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .0812                  | .954              | .1387          | .937              | .2109          | .958              |
| MSTAT    | .1778                  | 1.821             | .3580          | 2.071             | .2872          | 1.786             |
| MOMED    | .0472*                 | .769              | .1571          | .717              | .0981          | .764              |
| DADED    | .2777                  | 1.168             | .5032          | 1.178             | .4423          | 1.147             |
| WHITECOL | .3700                  | 1.140             | .2581          | 1.321             | .7113          | 1.070             |
| WHITECCO | .5035                  | .905              | .6578          | 1.122             | .2468          | .808              |
| ACTIVE   | .0013**                | 1.724             | .0737          | 1.751             | .0063**        | 1.746             |
| PROTEST  | .0003***               | 1.925             | .0449*         | 1.761             | .0049**        | 1.940             |
| CATHOLIC | .0047**                | 1.674             | .0033**        | 2.414             | .1509          | 1.407             |
| JEWISH   | .0862                  | 1.454             | .0822          | 1.977             | .4172          | 1.250             |
| OTHERREL | .3014                  | 1.384             | .2591          | 1.855             | .7812          | 1.117             |
| CHURCH   | .0050**                | 1.576             | .0196*         | 2.083             | .0639          | 1.429             |
| HISPANIC | .7637                  | 1.064             | .1428          | .611              | .2193          | 1.381             |
| BLACK    | .0515*                 | .588              | .0076**        | .326              | .6280          | .840              |
| OTHERRAC | .1660                  | .708              | .1076          | .531              | .4880          | .797              |
| PARENTOG | .7695                  | 1.040             | .6500          | 1.110             | .9254          | 1.016             |
| MOMWORKD | .7790                  | 1.035             | .6341          | 1.108             | .9851          | 1.003             |
| GREWUSA  | .5833                  | 1.131             | .4837          | .753              | .3555          | 1.292             |

1,037 (69.36%) respondents agreed  
458 (30.64%) respondents disagreed

490 (78.15%) men agreed  
137 (21.85%) men disagreed

547 (63.02%) women agreed  
321 (36.98%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
\*\* p<.01  
\*\*\* p<.001

Table 5-2: Modeling TAKENAME for all respondents, 1995.

(Models agreement with the following statement: When a man and a woman get married, the woman should take the man's last name.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men only</u> |                   | <u>Women only</u> |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u>  | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u>    | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .0001***               | .214              | --              | --                | --                | --                |
| AGE      | .0001***               | .845              | .0106**         | .868              | .0001***          | .824              |
| MSTAT    | .1259                  | 2.061             | .2747           | 3.036             | .3129             | 1.749             |
| MOMED    | .5353                  | .911              | .1039           | .597              | .8019             | 1.045             |
| DADED    | .8401                  | 1.033             | .1113           | 1.662             | .5698             | .898              |
| WHITECOL | .1850                  | 1.242             | .0805           | 1.727             | .5289             | 1.130             |
| WHITECCO | .4555                  | 1.130             | .2718           | 1.442             | .6026             | 1.105             |
| ACTIVE   | .0082**                | 1.701             | .1212           | 2.176             | .0432*            | 1.569             |
| PROTEST  | .0001***               | 3.096             | .0001***        | 5.545             | .0002***          | 2.526             |
| CATHOLIC | .0001***               | 3.251             | .0007***        | 3.456             | .0001***          | 2.906             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 2.748             | .0589           | 2.609             | .0021**           | 2.512             |
| OTHERREL | .0550                  | 1.927             | .1870           | 2.317             | .2568             | 1.594             |
| CHURCH   | .1204                  | 1.331             | .4131           | 1.428             | .1732             | 1.326             |
| HISPANIC | .0001***               | .435              | .5243           | .758              | .0001***          | .350              |
| BLACK    | .8420                  | .937              | .4208           | 1.938             | .5154             | .786              |
| OTHERRAC | .0272*                 | .544              | .0479*          | .412              | .2806             | .688              |
| PARENTOG | .2615                  | 1.184             | .9156           | 1.033             | .3834             | 1.165             |
| MOMWORKD | .4910                  | .909              | .5212           | 1.196             | .2190             | .819              |
| GREWUSA  | .6422                  | .892              | .4730           | 1.417             | .3805             | .772              |

1,112 (75.70%) respondents agreed  
 357 (24.30%) respondents disagreed

543 (87.72%) men agreed  
 76 (12.28%) men disagreed

569 (66.94%) women agreed  
 281 (33.06%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
 \*\* p<.01  
 \*\*\* p<.001

Table 5-3: Modeling FAMREL for all respondents, 1995.

(Models agreement with the following statement: I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of a different religion.)

|           | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>          |                   |
|-----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
|           | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u>        | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER    | .0001***               | .421              | --             | --                | --                    | --                |
| AGE       | .4695                  | 1.029             | .7459          | 1.021             | .6148                 | 1.025             |
| MSTAT     | .1687                  | 2.083             | .6848          | .695              | .0177*                | 5.014             |
| MOMED     | .6931                  | 1.079             | .8177          | 1.063             | .7485                 | 1.096             |
| DADED     | .1331                  | 1.418             | .2904          | 1.395             | .2653                 | 1.481             |
| WHITECOL  | .3487                  | .803              | .6555          | .867              | .2544                 | .672              |
| WHITECCO  | .4889                  | .862              | .4083          | .779              | .9771                 | 1.009             |
| ACTIVE    | .0465*                 | 1.497             | .3534          | 1.304             | .0302*                | 1.902             |
| PROTEST   | .0003***               | 6.787             | .0032**        | 5.156             | .0327*                | 4.400             |
| CATHOLIC  | .2507                  | 1.903             | .9155          | 1.067             | .3709                 | 1.898             |
| JEWISH    | .0001***               | 27.572            | .0001***       | 13.358            | .0001***              | 33.933            |
| OTHEREREL | .0202*                 | 4.736             | .0604          | 4.454             | none in this category |                   |
| CHURCH    | .0001***               | 5.999             | .0001***       | 5.938             | .0639                 | 1.429             |
| HISPANIC  | .9426                  | .975              | .8886          | .936              | .2193                 | 1.381             |
| BLACK     | .3250                  | 1.443             | .3847          | 1.555             | .6280                 | .840              |
| OTHERRAC  | .8692                  | 1.072             | .2888          | .497              | .4880                 | .797              |
| PARENTOG  | .0192*                 | 1.684             | .1008          | 1.666             | .9254                 | 1.016             |
| MOMWORKD  | .0623                  | .714              | .6226          | .884              | .9851                 | 1.003             |
| GREWUSA   | .5946                  | .819              | .8805          | 1.108             | .3555                 | 1.292             |

199 (13.37%) respondents agreed  
1,289 (86.63%) respondents disagreed

\* p<.05  
\*\* p<.01  
\*\*\* p<.001

111 (17.79%) men agreed  
513 (82.21%) men disagreed

88 (10.19%) women agreed  
776 (89.81%) women disagreed

Table 5-4: Modeling FAMRAC for all respondents, 1995.

(Models agreement with the following statement: I would be disappointed if someone in my family married someone of a different racial background.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .0001***               | .582              | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .1216                  | 1.049             | .8313          | 1.010             | .0736          | 1.079             |
| MSTAT    | .3592                  | .631              | .9207          | .931              | .3154          | .469              |
| MOMED    | .4330                  | 1.120             | .8011          | 1.055             | .4837          | 1.151             |
| DADED    | .9399                  | .988              | .1867          | 1.376             | .2575          | .777              |
| WHITECOL | .1750                  | .798              | .1730          | .716              | .4687          | .845              |
| WHITECCO | .5730                  | 1.098             | .6195          | 1.132             | .7287          | 1.082             |
| ACTIVE   | .0001***               | 2.295             | .0182*         | 1.711             | .0001***       | 2.825             |
| PROTEST  | .0001***               | 3.838             | .0001***       | 5.654             | .0054**        | 2.632             |
| CATHOLIC | .0179*                 | 1.873             | .0028**        | 3.103             | .7652          | 1.118             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 5.149             | .0001***       | 7.128             | .0005***       | 3.752             |
| OTHERREL | .0037**                | 3.139             | .0148*         | 4.142             | .0841          | 2.532             |
| CHURCH   | .5570                  | 1.101             | .7318          | .920              | .3074          | 1.260             |
| HISPANIC | .0225*                 | .533              | .1210          | .564              | .0808          | .471              |
| BLACK    | .9034                  | 1.038             | .7684          | 1.137             | .9125          | .953              |
| OTHERRAC | .4293                  | .775              | .3825          | .674              | .7743          | .875              |
| PARENTOG | .1457                  | 1.249             | .5024          | 1.163             | .1890          | 1.320             |
| MOMWORKD | .0298*                 | .746              | .2795          | .806              | .0416*         | .682              |
| GREWUSA  | .3094                  | 1.374             | .3607          | 1.594             | .4220          | 1.392             |

364 (24.51%) respondents agreed  
1,121 (75.49%) respondents disagreed

184 (29.53%) men agreed  
439 (70.47%) men disagreed

180 (20.88%) women agreed  
682 (79.12%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
\*\* p<.01  
\*\*\* p<.001

Table 5-5: Modeling FAMETH for all respondents, 1995.

(Models agreement with the following statement: I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of a different ethnicity.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .0001***               | .447              | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .1643                  | 1.055             | .4588          | 1.043             | .2946          | 1.055             |
| MSTAT    | .3406                  | .525              | .2222          | .239              | .9773          | .976              |
| MOMED    | .0211*                 | 1.506             | .1615          | 1.401             | .0750          | 1.603             |
| DADED    | .6677                  | .917              | .5240          | 1.196             | .2217          | .699              |
| WHITECOL | .2753                  | .797              | .4213          | .794              | .4095          | .775              |
| WHITECCO | .6866                  | 1.086             | .9228          | 1.028             | .6711          | 1.137             |
| ACTIVE   | .0001***               | 2.128             | .0239*         | 1.749             | .0001***       | 2.666             |
| PROTEST  | .0001***               | 4.234             | .0006***       | 4.192             | .0132*         | 4.722             |
| CATHOLIC | .0850                  | 1.874             | .1198          | 2.004             | .3208          | 1.920             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 8.759             | .0001***       | 7.805             | .0002***       | 11.281            |
| OTHERREL | .0007***               | 4.921             | .0362*         | 3.816             | .0095**        | 6.997             |
| CHURCH   | .1749                  | 1.306             | .5423          | 1.182             | .1838          | 1.470             |
| HISPANIC | .2109                  | .644              | .1275          | .483              | .8494          | .907              |
| BLACK    | .4481                  | .721              | .5698          | .717              | .6480          | .744              |
| OTHERRAC | .2949                  | 1.444             | .7581          | 1.156             | .2023          | 1.968             |
| PARENTOG | .2024                  | 1.274             | .3673          | 1.267             | .3950          | 1.269             |
| MOMWORKD | .0181*                 | .680              | .1151          | .702              | .0842          | .660              |
| GREWUSA  | .1169                  | 1.965             | .3473          | 1.880             | .1455          | 2.324             |

225 (15.08%) respondents agreed  
1,267 (84.92%) respondents disagreed

\* p<.05  
\*\* p<.01  
\*\*\* p<.001

128 (20.45%) men agreed  
498 (79.55%) men disagreed

97 (11.20%) women agreed  
769 (88.80%) women disagreed

Table 5-6: Modeling DISUNMAR for currently unmarried respondents only, 1995.  
(Models agreement with the following statement: I would be disappointed to learn that I would never marry.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .5823                  | 1.099             | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .0002***               | .884              | .0048**        | .863              | .0156          | .899              |
| MSTAT    | --                     | --                | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| MOMED    | .6033                  | .905              | .6432          | .875              | .8669          | .957              |
| DADED    | .4433                  | .855              | .9459          | .980              | .3601          | .773              |
| WHITECOL | .4706                  | 1.158             | .4235          | 1.274             | .9518          | 1.017             |
| WHITECCO | .8980                  | 1.027             | .7272          | .890              | .6558          | 1.134             |
| ACTIVE   | .0234*                 | 1.965             | .1875          | 1.713             | .0515*         | 2.397             |
| PROTEST  | .0008***               | 2.200             | .0714          | 1.943             | .0030**        | 2.516             |
| CATHOLIC | .0001***               | 2.672             | .1384          | 1.724             | .0001***       | 4.143             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 4.990             | .3871          | 1.535             | .0007***       | 33.505            |
| OTHERREL | .1444                  | 1.837             | .2981          | 2.167             | .1630          | 2.054             |
| CHURCH   | .8286                  | 1.050             | .5596          | .820              | .6389          | 1.158             |
| HISPANIC | .1165                  | .649              | .2814          | .652              | .2836          | .655              |
| BLACK    | .0001***               | .263              | .0023**        | .236              | .0030**        | .292              |
| OTHERRAC | .0310*                 | .502              | .4259          | .673              | .0231*         | .376              |
| PARENTOG | .3287                  | 1.202             | .7798          | 1.084             | .2916          | 1.309             |
| MOMWORKD | .1158                  | .754              | .7126          | .906              | .0820          | .651              |
| GREWUSA  | .1598                  | .624              | .7698          | .865              | .1720          | .526              |

1,258 (87.91%) respondents agreed  
173 (12.09%) respondents disagreed

518 (86.77%) men agreed  
79 (13.23%) men disagreed

740 (88.73%) women agreed  
94 (11.27%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
\*\* p<.01  
\*\*\* p<.001

Table 5-7: Modeling MARRAC for currently unmarried respondents only, 1995.  
 (Models agreement with the following statement: While I might casually date someone who is of a different race, I would only want to marry someone of my race.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .9884                  | .998              | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .9590                  | .998              | .1849          | .937              | .3071          | 1.043             |
| MSTAT    | --                     | --                | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| MOMED    | .6555                  | 1.058             | .1813          | 1.308             | .5380          | .902              |
| DADED    | .0752                  | .781              | .6802          | .915              | .0538*         | .702              |
| WHITECOL | .5162                  | .912              | .6645          | 1.102             | .1841          | .778              |
| WHITECCO | .5463                  | 1.090             | .3127          | .788              | .1554          | 1.303             |
| ACTIVE   | .0001***               | 1.845             | .0123**        | 1.819             | .0007***       | 1.994             |
| PROTEST  | .0001***               | 3.269             | .0001***       | 3.058             | .0001***       | 3.472             |
| CATHOLIC | .0001***               | 2.265             | .0064**        | 2.160             | .0006***       | 2.432             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 4.366             | .0008***       | 3.246             | .0001***       | 5.709             |
| OTHERREL | .0001***               | 4.678             | .0681          | 2.608             | .0001***       | 6.893             |
| CHURCH   | .3094                  | 1.161             | .8029          | .942              | .1238          | 1.342             |
| HISPANIC | .0683                  | .704              | .0266*         | .517              | .5230          | .847              |
| BLACK    | .2880                  | 1.344             | .5611          | 1.285             | .3876          | 1.378             |
| OTHERRAC | .0048**                | .479              | .0013**        | .264              | .3779          | .733              |
| PARENTOG | .0774                  | 1.258             | .0847          | 1.429             | .3939          | 1.155             |
| MOMWORKD | .5587                  | .933              | .8971          | .976              | .6240          | .927              |
| GREWUSA  | .0759                  | 1.518             | .4298          | 1.382             | .0914          | 1.655             |

765 (54.18%) respondents agreed  
 647 (45.82%) respondents disagreed

317 (53.64%) men agreed  
 274 (46.36%) men disagreed

448 (54.57%) women agreed  
 373 (45.43%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
 \*\* p<.01  
 \*\*\* p<.001



Table 5-8: Modeling MARETH for currently unmarried respondents only, 1995.  
 (Models agreement with the following statement: While I might casually date someone who is of a different ethnicity, I would only want to marry someone of my ethnicity.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .6135                  | .943              | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .8860                  | 1.004             | .4616          | .964              | .3578          | 1.039             |
| MSTAT    | --                     | --                | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| MOMED    | .3489                  | 1.129             | .1625          | 1.328             | .9929          | .998              |
| DADED    | .3578                  | .878              | .3812          | .823              | .6897          | .928              |
| WHITECOL | .9097                  | .983              | .4189          | 1.205             | .3943          | .850              |
| WHITECCO | .5302                  | 1.097             | .9403          | .982              | .4020          | 1.175             |
| ACTIVE   | .0004***               | 1.680             | .0554          | 1.545             | .0010***       | 1.901             |
| PROTEST  | .0001***               | 3.179             | .0001***       | 3.041             | .0001***       | 3.371             |
| CATHOLIC | .0076**                | 1.738             | .4052          | 1.286             | .0073          | 2.199             |
| JEWISH   | .0001***               | 4.495             | .0002***       | 3.719             | .0001***       | 5.598             |
| OTHERREL | .0038**                | 2.600             | .5125          | 1.424             | .0018**        | 3.965             |
| CHURCH   | .2186                  | 1.199             | .4571          | 1.193             | .2931          | 1.224             |
| HISPANIC | .0049**                | .537              | .1538          | .631              | .0114**        | .454              |
| BLACK    | .7801                  | 1.080             | .9317          | .963              | .5951          | 1.210             |
| OTHERRAC | .9403                  | 1.020             | .3172          | .661              | .3178          | 1.420             |
| PARENTOG | .4161                  | 1.115             | .6446          | 1.102             | .5727          | 1.103             |
| MOMWORKD | .0203*                 | .758              | .4085          | .856              | .0213*         | .695              |
| GREWUSA  | .1112                  | 1.514             | .5085          | 1.351             | .1478          | 1.605             |

558 (39.46%) respondents agreed  
 856 (60.54%) respondents disagreed

235 (39.70%) men agreed  
 357 (60.30%) men disagreed

323 (39.29%) women agreed  
 499 (60.71%) women disagreed

\* p<.05  
 \*\* p<.01  
 \*\*\* p<.001

Table 5-9: Modeling MARSOCCL for currently unmarried respondents only, 1995.  
 (Models agreement with the following statement: While I might casually date someone who is  
 of a lower social class, I only would want to marry someone from my social class [or above].)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men</u>     |                   | <u>Women</u>   |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u> | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .0001***               | 2.280             | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| AGE      | .0019**                | 1.100             | .2105          | 1.062             | .0023**        | 1.143             |
| MSTAT    | --                     | --                | --             | --                | --             | --                |
| MOMED    | .2295                  | 1.179             | .3103          | 1.273             | .4859          | 1.126             |
| DADED    | .7118                  | 1.057             | .6126          | .877              | .3618          | 1.187             |
| WHITECOL | .3437                  | .864              | .8221          | 1.063             | .1633          | .766              |
| WHITECCO | .7151                  | .945              | .8143          | 1.069             | .4254          | .859              |
| ACTIVE   | .0001***               | 1.865             | .3898          | 1.250             | .0001***       | 2.429             |
| PROTEST  | .0088**                | 1.719             | .7356          | 1.115             | .0010***       | 2.475             |
| CATHOLIC | .0478*                 | 1.526             | .9944          | 1.002             | .0067**        | 2.150             |
| JEWISH   | .0003***               | 2.399             | .1616          | 1.696             | .0001***       | 3.372             |
| OTHERREL | .1753                  | 1.603             | .4707          | 1.514             | .1833          | 1.811             |
| CHURCH   | .7073                  | .942              | .1307          | .628              | .5892          | 1.110             |
| HISPANIC | .1194                  | .700              | .2089          | .598              | .3701          | .775              |
| BLACK    | .0727                  | 1.648             | .0494*         | 2.416             | .4610          | 1.301             |
| OTHERRAC | .2376                  | 1.377             | .6365          | .799              | .0308*         | 2.127             |
| PARENTOG | .4772                  | .906              | .2791          | 1.308             | .0908          | .747              |
| MOMWORKD | .9247                  | .988              | .6978          | .918              | .7688          | 1.047             |
| GREWUSA  | .7204                  | 1.097             | .6595          | 1.247             | .6975          | 1.129             |

422 (29.87%) respondents agreed  
 991 (70.13%) respondents disagreed

\* p<.05  
 \*\* p<.01  
 \*\*\* p<.001

123 (20.71%) men agreed  
 471 (79.29%) men disagreed

299 (36.51%) women agreed  
 520 (63.49%) women disagreed

Table 5-10: Modeling ACTIVE, 1995. (Models the likelihood that the respondent is currently participating in the Greek system.)

|          | <u>All respondents</u> |                   | <u>Men (fraternity)</u> |                   | <u>Women (sorority)</u> |                   |
|----------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
|          | <u>P value</u>         | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u>          | <u>Odds ratio</u> | <u>P value</u>          | <u>Odds ratio</u> |
| GENDER   | .5879                  | 1.104             | --                      | --                | --                      | --                |
| AGE      | .0090**                | .850              | .0352*                  | .798              | .0643                   | .858              |
| MOMED    | .8929                  | 1.027             | .3621                   | .755              | .1387                   | 1.504             |
| DADED    | .2884                  | 1.280             | .0579                   | 2.063             | .5149                   | .818              |
| WHITECOL | .0698                  | 1.547             | .8039                   | 1.098             | .0549*                  | 1.892             |
| WHITECCO | .8325                  | .954              | .9471                   | .976              | .4863                   | .813              |
| PROTEST  | .0007***               | 3.371             | .0007***                | 9.477             | .3903                   | 1.457             |
| CATHOLIC | .0103**                | 2.566             | .0048**                 | 6.778             | .7833                   | 1.133             |
| JEWISH   | .0051***               | 3.050             | .0004***                | 12.970            | .9104                   | .945              |
| OTHERREL | .0255*                 | 3.706             | .0335*                  | 8.195             | .4943                   | 1.708             |
| CHURCH   | .0501*                 | .632              | .3159                   | .691              | .0822                   | .580              |
| HISPANIC | .7063                  | .891              | .6346                   | .803              | .7476                   | .870              |
| BLACK    | .0041**                | .115              | .0784                   | .148              | .0271*                  | .094              |
| OTHERRAC | .0637                  | .378              | .3312                   | .536              | .0801                   | .154              |
| GREEKSEX | .0001***               | 6.118             | .0001***                | 7.718             | .0001***                | 5.850             |
| GREEKMOM | .1589                  | 1.410             | .7755                   | 1.110             | .1342                   | 1.670             |
| GREEKDAD | .0057**                | 1.764             | .1245                   | 1.657             | .0213*                  | 1.890             |
| NEWGPA   | .2517                  | 1.252             | .2780                   | .692              | .0147*                  | 1.867             |
| FIRSTDAT | .0338*                 | .614              | .2954                   | .635              | .0558                   | .578              |
| TAKENAME | .5901                  | .867              | .3374                   | .521              | .9473                   | .980              |
| FAMREL   | .8110                  | .939              | .4659                   | 1.322             | .1375                   | .560              |
| FAMRAC   | .0325*                 | .598              | .7404                   | .881              | .0259*                  | .494              |
| FAMETH   | .8056                  | 1.072             | .6463                   | .824              | .4198                   | 1.392             |

228 (19.66%) respondents are currently active in Greek system

932 (80.34%) respondents are NOT currently active in Greek system

\* p<.05

\*\* p<.01

\*\*\* p<.001

99 (20.75%) men are currently active in Greek system

378 (79.25%) men are NOT currently active in Greek system

129 (18.89%) women are currently active in Greek system

554 (81.11%) women are NOT currently active in Greek system

being of an "other" race (e.g. Asian, Native American, mixed race, etc.).

For men, identification as a Protestant or Catholic led to more frequent agreement that a woman should assume her husband's surname. However, younger men and men of "other" races were less likely to hold this conservative viewpoint. Current fraternity membership was not statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

For women, identification with a major organized religion (Protestantism, Catholicism or Judaism) led to higher levels of agreement that a woman should assume her husband's surname. Hispanics and younger women, however, were much less likely to agree to this convention. Current sorority women were 57% more likely than non-sorority women to believe a married woman should take her husband's last name.

Tables 5-3 to 5-5 model the marital homogamy preferences the respondents have for members of their families. The most significant predictor variables for FAMREL (Table 5-3) were the religious preference variables (with the notable exception of Catholics who were not appreciably different than respondents with no religious preference). The Jews in the sample were an amazing 27.6 times more likely than respondents with no religious preferences to admit they would be disappointed if someone in their family married someone of another religion. The Protestants (who were nearly seven times more likely than those without a religious preference) and

those with other religious preferences (who were 4.7 times more likely than those with out a religious preference) to admit disappointment if someone in their families married someone of a different faith. Men and respondents whose parents have been continuously married since their (respondents') birth or adoption were more likely to admit they would mind if their relatives would marry outside their religion. In addition, active members of Greek organizations were 50% more likely to express disappointment if a relative were to marry someone of a different religion.

For men, identification as a Protestant or Jew as well as frequent attendance at religious services were the best predictors of stated disappointment if a family member were to marry someone of a different religion. Current fraternity membership was not statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

For women, those who were currently married or Protestant or Jewish (in comparison to those with no religious preference) were more likely to state they would be disappointed if someone in their family were to marry someone of another religion. In fact, Jews were 33.9 times more likely than those without a religious preference to admit an interfaith marriage within their families would disappoint them. Active sorority women were approximately twice as likely as non-sorority women to agree that news of an interfaith marriage within their families would be disappointing. It

should be noted that there were no women of "other" religions who completed this question in addition to the other variables included in this model although this variable was included in the SAS program.

Table 5-4 displays the outcome of the logistic regression model for FAMRAC. It is interesting that regardless of the respondent's religious preference, identification with an organized religion dramatically increased the likelihood that the respondent would disapprove of someone in their respective families marrying someone of another race. In fact Jews were more than five times as likely to report disapproval when compared to persons who do not have a religious preference. Males, Hispanics and respondents whose mothers worked in paid labor prior to the respondent entering school were less likely to admit disapproval of interracial marriages within their families. It is important to note that active Greeks were more than twice as likely as independents to say they would be disappointed if a family member married interracially.

For men, identification with an organized religion led to greater likelihoods of stated disappointment if a family member were to marry someone of a different racial background. Current fraternity members too were 71% more likely than non-members to say they would be disappointed in a racially heterogamous union in their families.

For women, Protestants and Jews were more likely than women without a religious preference to state they would be

disappointed if someone in their family were to marry someone of a different race. However, if their mothers worked while the respondents were young, they were much less likely to state disappointment if a family member were to racially intermarry. Active sorority sisters were 2.8 times more likely than non-sorority women to state similar disappointment.

In regard to ethnic intermarriages (Table 5-5), all of the respondents who identified with organized religions (with the exception of Catholics) were more likely to disapprove than respondents who do not identify with an organized religion. The level of disapproval was less than interracial marriages for Protestants and those with minority religious preferences, but for Jews, the level of disapproval was higher. Men, respondents with college-educated mothers, and respondents whose mothers worked while the respondents were of pre-school age also were more likely to disapprove of interethnic marriages for members of their families. Active Greeks again were more than twice as likely to disapprove of heterogamous marriage--in this case in regard to ethnicity.

When FAMETH was modeled separately for men and women, the results were same for both genders--although more pronounced for women than men. Identifying oneself as a Protestant, Jew or member of an "other" organized religion led to greater likelihoods of stated disappointment if a family member were to ethnically outmarry. The effect was especially strong for Jews. And active fraternity men and active sorority women were

more likely to report that they would be disappointed in a family member's ethnic outmarriage than were independents.

The remaining attitudinal variables (DISUNMAR, MARRAC, MARETH and MARSOCCL) were modeled with only those respondents who have never been married (98% of the sample). More than 87% of the survey respondents agreed that they would be disappointed to learn that they would never marry (DISUNMAR - Table 5-6). For those respondents who were younger or members of an organized religion (compared to those with no religious preferences), this news would be especially upsetting. However, non-Hispanic blacks and members of "other" races were much less likely to say they would be disappointed if they never married. Active Greeks were about twice as likely as independents to admit they would be disappointed to learn they would remain single for the rest of their lives. It is interesting to note that gender was not a statistically significant variable ( $p < .05$ ) in predicting DISUNMAR.

For men, the only two variables which were significant in predicting DISUNMAR at the  $p < .05$  level were age and non-Hispanic black race. With increasing age, men were less likely to say they would be disappointed if they were to learn they would never marry. And in comparison to non-Hispanic white men, non-Hispanic black men were nearly five times *less* likely to say they would be disappointed to learn they would never marry. It is important to note that Greek status was NOT statistically significant.



For women, the religion variables were the best predictors of DISUNMAR. In fact, Jewish women were 33.5 times more likely than women without a religious preference to state that they would be disappointed to learn they would never marry. All other religious categories (Protestant, Catholic and "other") yielded greater likelihoods of disappointment in comparison to women without a religious affiliation, although at much more moderate levels in comparison to Jewish women. Non-Hispanic black women and women of "other" races were much less likely than non-Hispanic white women to state that learning they would never marry would be a disappointment. And it is important to note that for women, Greek status was statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level. In fact, currently active sorority members were more than twice as likely to say that they would be disappointed to learn they would never marry in comparison to independent women.

The outcome of MARRAC was quite similar to MARETH. The MARRAC variable is based on the respondents' own preferences to marry within their respective races. Participation in any organized religion led to much higher levels of disapproval of interracial marriage as compared to respondents who do not identify with any religion. Members of "other" races (e.g. Asians, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, biracial respondents) were much less likely than non-Hispanic whites to disapprove of the prospect of marrying interracially. But perhaps most interesting is that in comparison to non-Hispanic

whites, non-Hispanic blacks were 34% more likely to admit that they would not want to marry outside their race. Active Greeks were 85% more likely than independents to state that they would prefer to marry someone of their same race.

For men, affiliation with a major religion (Protestantism, Catholicism or Judaism) predicted higher levels of agreement that they would prefer to marry someone of their same race. Hispanics and members of "other" races were less likely than non-Hispanic whites to say that they would prefer to have a racially homogamous marriage, while non-Hispanic black men were no more or less likely than non-Hispanic white men to prefer racially homogamous marriages for themselves. Active fraternity men were 81% more likely than independents to prefer racially homogamous marriages for themselves.

For women, affiliation with any organized religion predicted higher levels of agreement that they would prefer to marry someone of their same race. Interestingly none of the race/ethnicity variables were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level. However, having a college educated father led the women away from racial homogamy preferences. Sorority membership was not a statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) predictor of MARRAC.

In regard to personal interethnic marriage (MARETH), again all of the respondents with religious preferences had much higher levels of ethnic homogamy in comparison to

respondents with no religious preference. In fact, the Jewish respondents were 4.5 times more likely to prefer ethnic homogamy than those with no religion. Hispanics reported lower levels of ethnic homogamy expectations--continuing a pattern of assimilation preferences for this group. Active Greeks were 60% more likely to prefer ethnic homogamy than independents.

For men, the only two statistically significant ( $p > .05$ ) variables were religious identification with Protestantism or Judaism in comparison to men with no religious identification; these men were more than three times as likely to prefer ethnically homogamous marriages for themselves. Active status in a fraternity approached significant ( $p = .554$ ) although with a somewhat modest (55% higher) difference.

For women, identification with Protestantism, Judaism or an "other" religion led respondents to favor ethnically homogamous marriages for themselves at even higher levels than for men. This was especially true for Jewish women who were nearly six times as likely as women without a religious preference to aspire to ethnically homogamous marriages. However, women whose mothers worked when the respondents were of pre-school age were much less likely to value ethnic homogamy for themselves. Also, active sorority women were nearly twice as likely as independent women to favor ethnic homogamy for themselves.

Table 5-9 presents the results of the logistic regression model for the respondents' preferences to marry someone who is

of their social class or above (MARSOCCL). The respondents who were older or female were more likely to admit that they wish to avoid mesalliance (or "marrying down"). Similarly, in comparison to those with no religious preference, Protestants, Catholics and Jews were likely to prefer to marrying someone of their social class or above. Active Greeks were 80% more likely than independents to express a desire to marry at their class level or above.

For men, the only statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) variable was black race. Non-Hispanic black men were 2.4 times more likely than non-Hispanic white men to report that they would want to marry someone at their social class or above. Greek status had no effect.

For women, identification with a major religious group (Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism) was correlated with a preference to marry someone of their social class or above. Age, too, was associated; older women were more likely to state a preference for class endogamy or hypergamy. Women of "other" races were more likely than non-Hispanic white women to report that they would prefer to marry someone of their social class or above. Also, active sorority women were 2.4 times more likely than independent women to state their preference for class endogamy or hypergamy.

Table 5-10 reflects the results of logistic regression model designed to predict current participation in a Greek organization (ACTIVE). The best predictor of participation in

a Greek organization is the preference to date Greeks (GREEKSEX) which resulted in having a 611% higher likelihood of current participation. Members of organized religions were more likely than those with no religious preference to be active Greeks. However, it is interesting to note that while Greek members were more likely to belong to an organized religion, they were much less likely to attend religious services on a regular basis (several times a month or more). One possible explanation for this pattern is that Greek organizations provide their members with ritual (and possibly spirituality) as well as a close community of concerned others; hence Greek organizations are close social substitutes for the major functions of organized religion.

Non-Hispanic blacks and members of "other" racial groups were much less likely to have participated in Greek organizations in comparison to non-Hispanic whites. Having a Greek father also led to a higher likelihood of current Greek membership. The importance of having a father who was Greek not only reflects the tradition of the Greek lifestyle and attitudes, but--on a more instrumental level--allows for a better understanding of the membership fees and other expenses he might be expected to pay for his offspring.

Only those attitudinal variables which were asked of all respondents (regardless of marital status) were included in the ACTIVE models. However, the only two attitudinal variables which were statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) predictors of

membership in a Greek organization were FIRSTDAT and FAMRAC; this indicates that the conservative beliefs that men should pay for a first date and that relatives should marry those of the same race were the most salient (of those in the model) in regard to participation in a Greek organization.

A separate model was constructed for men in an effort to predict current participation in a Greek-letter fraternity. Jewish men were especially likely to be actively participating in a fraternity; for example, Jews were 13 times more likely than men who have no religious preference to be current Greeks. In fact men who identified with an organized religion were much more likely to be Greek than men who did not have a religious identification. Another strong predictor of fraternity membership was the preference to date Greeks; men who prefer to date Greeks were 7.7 times more likely to be an active member of a fraternity in comparison to men who do not prefer to date Greeks. Also, young men were more likely to be currently active which suggests that men tend to "outgrow" the need for fraternity affiliation. (This pattern was less evident for women and only approached statistical significance.) It is interesting to note that none of the attitudinal variables were statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) in predicting fraternity membership.

A separate model was constructed to predict membership in a sorority. The best predictor of sorority membership was the preference to date Greeks; women who prefer to date Greeks

were nearly six times more likely to be active in a sorority in comparison to women who were not participating in a sorority. Also, women whose fathers were Greek were more likely to have participated in sororities in comparison to women whose fathers were not college Greeks. Women with grade point averages above 3.0 were more likely to be active in a sorority than women with lower GPAs. Also, women who prefer their relatives to marry others of the same race were less likely to have joined a sorority. None of the other attitudinal variables were statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

It is important to note that very few non-Hispanic black women were active in the Greek system. This disparity was exacerbated because at the time of the survey, two of the historically black sororities were on probation and could not accept pledges. Also, the historically black sororities have small memberships and few students--male or female, black or white--"cross over" and pledge an organization in which they are a racial minority.

## CHAPTER 6 SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

### Summary of Findings

The logistic regression models presented in Chapter 5 reveal patterns in regard to gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences of college Greeks. These findings will be summarized and consequently discussed; relevant conclusions then will be drawn.

Overall, age had very little effect in the majority of the logistic regression models. The exception was that younger ages were associated with more conservative values for TAKENAME as expected; however, this pattern did not hold up when TAKENAME was modeled for men and in fact older ages were associated with conservative values on this variables. This reason that age was not a significant variable was that the vast majority (88.4%) of the respondents were clustered in the 18-21 age range.

Marital status produced a similar situation. MSTAT was significant only for FAMREL for women only. However, it must be remembered that only about 2% of the respondents were currently married. Thus again this "variable" had very little variation which complicates interpretation.



Gender was statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) in most of the models, and in most of the cases, men held the more conservative attitudes (FIRSTDAT, TAKENAME, FAMREL, and FAMEETH) whereas women held more conservative attitudes for FAMRAC and MARSOCCL. DISUNMAR, MARRAC and MARETH had no gender differences at the  $p < .05$  level of significance. Men were more likely to have conservative opinions regarding both of the gender role attitudes most likely because they are content with the power and privileges granted them by the aggressor role. Women's conservative attitudes toward certain types of homogamy (especially in regard to MARSOCCL) indicates that women are more likely to worry about maintaining or improving their social class through marriage since men have traditionally conferred their social class upon their wives.

In regard to the four social class proxy variables (each parent's education and job status), little variation was found. FIRSTDAT was predicted by having mothers who did not have a college education. Thus these mothers are more likely to convey the attitude that men and women should behave the "old-fashioned" way and have men pay for first dates. But this variable was not statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level for any of the other models. DADED was a statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) predictor of MARRAC for women; women with college educated fathers were less likely to say they hope to marry someone of their same race. WHITECOL and WHITECOLL were not significant in any of the models. This indicates that

either social class was not an important predictor of gender role attitudes or homogamy preferences, or that the measures of social class were not sufficiently refined (e.g. secretaries and physicians are both white collar occupations although physicians undoubtedly have more prestige).

Perhaps the most important predictors of gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences were the religious identification variables. All of the attitudinal variables were affected by at least some of the religious groupings. Protestants and Catholics were more likely to have conservative views on gender role attitudes (FIRSTDAT and TAKENAME). Jews were the group most concerned with all types of homogamy--particularly when it involved religion (FAMREL) or ethnicity (FAMETH, MARETH). This was expected because Jews are a small minority of the student population; therefore Jews would be more concerned with homogamy. Also, the fact that the University of Florida has a number of predominantly Jewish fraternities and sororities serves as further evidence of the importance of homogamy to this group. However, Protestants--the dominant religious group--also were very concerned with homogamy although not to the extent to which Jews were. Catholics appeared to be concerned with racial homogamy only (FAMRAC and MARRAC); they were also likely to be disappointed if they never married. Persons without a religious identification overall were the least concerned with gender role attitudes or homogamy.

Not surprisingly, frequent church attendance was a statistically significant predictor ( $p < .05$ ) of FAMREL. It also predicted FIRSTDAT overall and for men.

The race/ethnicity variables had a very complex pattern. Black men were unlikely to believe that they should pay for first dates and admitted that if they marry (and they were less likely than other groups to say they would be disappointed if they didn't), they would want to marry someone of their social class or higher. Black women and members of "other" races also were more likely than other groups to say the prospect of remaining single throughout life would not disappoint them.

Hispanic women were less likely than non-Hispanic white women to believe that a woman should assume her husband's surname upon marriage. And overall, Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites were equally concerned with homogamy except in the cases of race (FAMRAC, MARRAC) and ethnicity (FAMETH) in which Hispanics--particularly men--were much less likely to mind intermarriage.

The only model in which PARENTOG was statistically significant at the  $P < .05$  level was FAMREL. This could be the result of marriages stabilized through religious homogamy and practice.

Having a mother who worked in paid labor while the respondent was of pre-school age had a greater affect on women than on men. Working mothers led to significantly ( $p < .05$ )

lower preferences for racial (FAMRAC) and ethnic (FAMETH and MARETH) homogamy for women.

GREWUSA was not statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) in any of the models. Also, having Greek parents (GREEKDAD, GREEKMOM) were not significant ( $p < .05$ ) in any of the gender role or homogamy models.

However, in regard to current active participation in a Greek organization, having a father who had been active in the Greek system was associated with a statistically greater likelihood ( $p < .05$ ) of belonging to a Greek organization--particularly a sorority. Again, this is the result of not only shared values, but also a father's understanding of what he may be paying for.

None of the social class variables (MOMED, DADED, WHITECOL, WHITECOLL) were statistically significant predictors of active participation in a Greek organization. This suggests that the University of Florida Greek system is open to those of almost any SES. Nonetheless, within the Greek system there may be certain elite fraternities and sororities which would not be affordable or socially attainable for students from blue collar backgrounds.

The best predictor of active Greek status was the preference to date Greeks. This variable was significant at the  $p < .05$  level for all three models (overall, men only, women only). In fact, currently active Greeks were at least six times more likely than independents to state a preference for

dating Greeks. This certainly underscores the importance of the Greek system in serving as a mechanism to facilitate homogamous dating relationships.

Currently active Greeks were more likely to identify with an organized religion than were independents, but Greeks had lower frequencies of church attendance. This may be explained by the fact that Greek organizations fulfill many of a student's needs for belonging, ritual and social support. Hence Greeks may not feel they need to seek out organized religious services. Also, the many activities of Greek organizations might make a student "too busy" to attend religious services.

Overall, blacks and members of "other" races were less likely than whites to participate in Greek organizations. This was especially true for blacks and sororities--most likely as a result of two historically black sororities being on probation at the time of this survey. Interestingly Hispanics were not significantly more or less likely ( $p < .05$ ) to participate in sororities. That the University of Florida does not have a predominantly Hispanic sorority indicates that perhaps Hispanics have been able to penetrate the predominantly white sororities. Since the blacks in this survey were much less likely than whites ( $p < .05$ ) to be concerned with marriage (homogamous or otherwise), it is not surprising that they are unconcerned with Greek membership. Also, respondents who did not grow up in the United States

were no more or less likely ( $p < .05$ ) to participate in the Greek system. Like Hispanics, this group has been able to penetrate the Greek system.

Currently active sorority women were more likely than non-sorority women ( $p, .05$ ) to have grade point averages above a 3.0 (on a 4.0 scale). However, fraternity men were no more or less likely ( $p < .05$ ) to have higher grades than non-fraternity men.

Interestingly PARENTOG and MOMWORKD not statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) predictors of active participation in the Greek system. This continues a trend in which parental background characteristics have less influence on "going Greek" than the characteristics of the individuals (their attitudes, grades and religion).

In regard to the gender role attitudes, only FIRSTDAT was statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) for the overall model. TAKENAME was not significant ( $p < .05$ ) for men or women. In regard to the family homogamy variables (FAMREL, FAMRAC, FAMETH), only FAMRAC was significant ( $p < .05$ ) for both the overall model and for women only. An important limitation to point out is that the ACTIVE models did NOT contain the personal homogamy variables (which were asked only of the unmarried respondents). But the respondent's personal homogamy values were displayed in the chi-square tables in Chapter 4 (tables 4-27 to 4-29). However, the only statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) difference for actives and inactives was

for men on MARRAC, but these tables do not control for background characteristics. The most profound attitudinal differences were between those who rushed and those who did not rush; those who rushed (regardless of the outcome) were much more likely ( $p < .05$ ) to prefer homogamous unions for themselves. Also, women who had ever been affiliated with fraternity Little Sister programs had a pronounced ( $p < .05$ ) preference for racial homogamy and social class hypergamy, but no preference for ethnic homogamy (perhaps due to the small number of Jewish Little Sisters).

#### Discussion of Findings

Overall, the evidence presented in this dissertation indicates that perhaps students *perceive* that a major function of Greek sororities and fraternities is to maintain traditional gender roles and to facilitate heterosexual matchmaking between the groups. However, it is likely that the Greek system is not as conservative as many students initially believe. In fact, many students do drop out, but perhaps most drop out because Greek organizations are too liberal (e.g. too many parties featuring alcohol and other drugs, members are promiscuous, studying is impeded, women are interested in pursuing careers and are not lining up to marry fraternity men) rather than too conservative. This betrays the Greek image which would predict high rates of attrition since the organizations are "not as advertised."

And although the Greek system may still emphasize the importance of finding dating partners, the importance of meeting demographically similar partners appears to be lower than students would expect. Lowered emphasis on finding demographically similar partners is most likely lower than in previous years because of delayed first marriage patterns for America as a whole and for college youths in particular. Thus the importance of having a boyfriend or girlfriend in college remains, while the importance of dating a demographically similar partner is reduced because the expectation of marriage has been delayed.

Overall, persons associated with the Greek system (including rushees) appeared to have stronger homogamy preferences for themselves as well as their family members in comparison to persons with no association with the Greek system. Also important to note is that non-Hispanic blacks are much less likely to report they would be disappointed if they learned they would never marry. These facts, along with America's history of segregated education and socialization patterns, are consistent with the presence of separate Greek organizations which have predominantly white (whether "mainstream" or Jewish) or black memberships.

The question becomes: Should fraternities and sororities have "affirmative action" policies where dissimilar persons are recruited for membership? This might seem to be a logical solution until one realizes that those who are recruited under



these conditions might be ostracized at the social events by sorority and fraternity members who have strong homogamy preferences. It should be remembered, however, that the homogamy preference questions did not rule out the possibility of casual, interracial dating (the questions for personal preferences began, "While I might casually date someone of a different ...").

The data from this study did not find that Greeks are more likely to have college-educated parents or white collar parents than independents. Thus there is some question as to whether sororities and fraternities are actually elitist organizations or merely organizations which promote certain traditional values in regard to racial homogamy and traditional dating practices such as men paying for first dates. While it may be true that certain fraternities and sororities are elite, the overall Greek system appears to have sufficient space to include children of working class parents (but perhaps with limited choices of where they can pledge).

They may detract from a university's goal of promoting fairness and equal consideration to all. But they also provide a chance for students to learn that "unfair" advantages (good looks, money, social skills, wardrobe, social class and heterosexual orientation) are facts of life. However, these advantages--with the exception of social class--were not accounted for in this dissertation. Thus future research in this area could perhaps concentrate on the impact of these

variables. Measurement concerns and the widespread, public distribution of my lengthy questionnaire did not permit the inclusion of these variables in this study. Also, future research should focus on other homogamy variables such as education, age and specific races (e.g. Would you consider marrying someone black? Rather than, Would you marry someone of a different race?).

### Conclusions

As predicted, men were more likely to have more conservative gender role attitudes than women. The chi-square tables presented in Chapter 4 illustrate that a man's involvement in the Greek system does appear to lead to more conservative gender role attitudes. However, when other characteristics are controlled as in the logistic regression models in Chapter 5, currently active fraternity men did not have more conservative gender role attitudes than non-fraternity men. But the frequencies in Chapter 4 illustrate that overall, men had more conservative gender role attitudes than women.

Women were predicted to have greater homogamy preferences than men, but overall, men actually had stronger homogamy preferences than women in all of the models with the exception of MARSOCCL in which women were significantly ( $p > .05$ ) more likely to prefer marrying someone of their same social class or higher. In fact, for the family homogamy models, the men

were significantly ( $p < .05$ ) more likely than women to prefer homogamy. The differences for MARRAC and MARETH were not statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ). Homogamy preferences were particularly strong for active Greeks--and especially for sorority sisters. Racial homogamy appeared to have the most salience.

That currently active Greeks overwhelmingly prefer to date each other is evidence that the Greek system serves as a venue for matching demographically similar students who hold certain values in regard to gender and marriage. But this does not ease the assimilation process. However, it does maintain a politically correct climate of cultural pluralism in which minorities are free to celebrate their heritage among themselves.

The differential association theory would predict that students will learn their values and culture from those they closely associate with; also, the students are likely to associate only with those who are similar to them in terms of race, religion, ethnicity, social class and other key variables. Proximity and one's "field of eligibles" too have an influence on who one can meet and possibly marry. Having even a voluntarily segregated Greek system reinforces the likelihood of dating within one's socially prescribed and proscribed boundaries.

Overall, this study has supplied numerous examples of how sororities and fraternities are "gendered institutions"

(Acker, 1992). But are college women better or worse off to join a sorority? Not joining a sorority will not prevent a woman from experiencing gender discrimination during her college years. But having a network of like-minded friends could be an important part of the process of staying in school.

It is true that sororities focus much effort on helping members meet (and marry) Greek men. In doing so the sorority continues to act *in loco parentis*. Just as worried parents encourage their daughters to marry the "right" men, so, too, do sororities. It would be wrong to deny the importance one's choice of spouse has on one's life.

While sororities encourage much social interaction, they are more likely than fraternities to encourage their members to get good grades. Thus the importance of staying in school and completing one's degree is not minimized in the process of meeting eligible men.

The gender differences in policies regarding overnight guests and alcohol purchase and consumption should not automatically persuade feminists that sororities should change their rules to reflect the lax nature of fraternities. Perhaps instead the fraternities should consider the messages they are sending regarding promiscuous sex while the country experiences an AIDS epidemic and the messages of partying as sport in an era of lowered tolerance toward drunken driving

and recreational drug use (e.g. drug-free workplace policies and random urine screens utilized by many major companies).

In regard to race relations, it bothers many Greeks--black and white--that the systems are so poorly integrated. However, the racial homogamy preferences of Greek members seems to be reifying this tradition. In the end it comes to the right of free association. People have a First Amendment right to associate with others who are like themselves. This does not, however, give fraternities and sororities the right to discriminate based on race, ethnicity, creed, or age due to federal provisions or sexual orientation due to campus provisions. Nor does it force fraternities and sororities to have outreach activities in an attempt to diversify their memberships.

The question then becomes: Why would blacks (who generally are less concerned with getting married and in some circumstances less tolerant of interracial marriage than whites) want to get involved with an organization that heavily promotes racially homogamous marriages? Perhaps they might desire to join because they believe they can make friendships and business contacts with future leaders. The question could be posed in other ways as well: Why would whites want to join a predominantly African-American fraternity or sorority? Why would non-Jews wish to join a predominantly non-Jewish fraternity or sorority? (At the University of Florida, the predominantly Jewish organizations have impressive numbers of

non-Jewish members, but unimpressive numbers of non-whites.) Research should focus on the desires and attempts of blacks and other minorities to join predominantly white or Jewish Greek-letter organizations. Perhaps minorities would have a more difficult time affording to pay for the expenses of "going Greek" which can actually exceed the in-state tuition rate for a full-time undergraduate student (although sorority and fraternity housing and meals plans should not really be included in this comparison because most students would still be living away from home).

Of course, there are many independent organizations associated with the University of Florida or the Gainesville community which do not have well-integrated memberships. In general most of these associations are not considered problematic. The likelihood of a white student joining the Black Student Union, of a Jewish student joining Campus Crusade for Christ, of a Catholic participating in activities sponsored by Hillel, of a registered Democrat joining a Right to Life organization, of a homeless person having membership in a dining club, of an 18-year-old freshman wanting to join Students Over the Traditional Age, of a journalism student seeking entrance into an agricultural honorary society, or of a happily married couple regularly socializing in a gay bar seems quite low. Is this problematic? And if so, what should be done about it?

Future research might also differentiate between individual fraternities and sororities (without revealing their Greek names). As a part of the name brand product analogy mentioned earlier in this dissertation, research on how an individual sorority (or fraternity) is "positioned" relative to other sororities (or fraternities) could provide tremendous insight.

Thus the data in this study provide evidence that men and women who belong to Greek organizations have more conservative gender role attitudes than men and women who do not participate in Greek organizations. However, for men, most of these differences disappear when background characteristics are controlled. But for women, these differences remain even when background characteristics are controlled. In addition, homogamy is more important for women and members of minority groups (such as Jews) than for men and members of majority groups (such as whites). Evidence that marriage is declining in importance among the black community was noted as well. Furthermore, the importance of religion in explaining both gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences cannot be underestimated.

But the bottom-line is that while Greek-letter fraternities and sororities do promote traditional gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences, the extent to which they do so may not as great as students perceive it. It appears that male college students are uniformly conservative in

regard to gender role attitudes and homogamy preferences, whereas female college students are divided into two categories: traditional (likely to be active in a sorority) and non-traditional (likely quit or never join a sorority). The data appear to support the common perception that Greek organizations promote (and thereby reproduce) traditional gender roles and parallel matchmaking.



APPENDIX A

UNDERGRADUATE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questions below have met with the approval of the University of Florida Institutional Review Board. Your answers are very important and will be held in strictest confidence. Be advised that you do not have to answer any question you do not wish to answer. THANK YOU IN ADVANCE FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

For questions 1-23, please select the answer which best describes your attitude toward each statement. Please CIRCLE your answer for each statement.

|   | Strongly<br>agree | Agree | Strongly<br>Disagree | Disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|----------------------|----------|
| 1. When a man and woman go out on a date for the first time, the man should pay for all of the expenses incurred. | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 2. A man should be able to prevent his female partner from having an abortion.                                    | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 3. When a man and a woman get married, the woman should take the man's last name.                                 | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 4. In general, mothers care for children better than fathers.   | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 5. I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone who practices a different religion.      | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 6. I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of a different RACIAL background.        | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 7. I would be disappointed if someone in my family were to marry someone of a different ETHNIC background.        | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 8. I would be disappointed to learn that I would have children of my own.   | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |

|  | Strongly<br>agree | Agree | Strongly<br>Disagree | Disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|----------------------|----------|
| 9. If I didn't receive financial support from my parents, I would have to make drastic changes in my lifestyle.                      | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 10. As a child growing up, I rarely did any housework.   | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 11. When considering post-college employment, I will try to find a job near my parent(s).  | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 12. Adult married children should live close to their parents so that they can help each other.                                      | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 13. Elderly parents are entitled to some financial support from their children in return for the sacrifices they have made for them. | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 14. A working wife should give up her job if her husband is offered a better job in another city.                                    | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 15. A working husband should give up his job if his wife is offered a better job in another city.                                    | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 16. If an unmarried woman finds that she is pregnant, she and the father of the child should get married.                            | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 17. A marriage without children is incomplete.   | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |

If you are CURRENTLY married, please skip to question 24.

|   | Strongly<br>agree | Agree | Strongly<br>Disagree | Disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|----------------------|----------|
| 18. I would be disappointed if I were to learn that I would never marry.  | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 19. I expect that at some point in my life I will get married.  | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 20. One of the most important aspects of evaluating a possible spouse would be his or her future ability to earn a good income.             | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 21. While I might casually date someone who is of a different RACE, I only would want to MARRY someone of my race.                          | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 22. While I might casually date someone who is of a different ETHNICITY, I only would want to MARRY someone of my ethnicity.                | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |
| 23. While I might casually date someone who is of a lower SOCIAL CLASS, I only would want to MARRY someone from my social class (or above). | 1                 | 2     | 3                    | 4        |

Questions 24-34 below are in regard to Greek social sororities and fraternities. Any sorority or fraternity which belongs to the Panhellenic Council, the Interfraternity Council or the Pan-Hellenic Conference meets the definition of a Greek social organization. However, other Greek-letter organizations such as honoraries, academic societies or clubs--even if they are gender-specific--are NOT included in this definition.

FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION of Greek social organizations, see the list on the final page of this questionnaire.

Note: "Rush" is a term used to refer to the process of joining a fraternity or sorority. (It precedes pledgship and/or membership.)

Also, the term "Greek" as used here describes members of social fraternities and sororities rather than persons who are from the country of Greece or the Grecian culture.

Please place an "X" or checkmark in the space to the left of each answer you select. Please choose only one answer for each question unless instructed to do otherwise.

24. Did you ever Rush (formally or informally) a Greek social sorority or fraternity (regardless of whether or not you actually pledged)?

☐ Yes                      ☐ No

If no, please skip to question 29.

25. Did you EVER participate in a social sorority or fraternity as a pledge, colony member or active member (regardless of whether or not you still belong)?

☐ Yes                      ☐ No

26. Was the sorority or fraternity predominantly black/African-American (regardless of YOUR race or ethnicity)?

☐ Yes                      ☐ No

27. Was the sorority or fraternity predominantly Jewish (regardless of YOUR religion)?

☐ Yes                      ☐ No

28. Are you CURRENTLY participating as a pledge, colony member or regular member in a social sorority or fraternity?

☐ Yes                      ☐ No

If yes, please skip to question 30.

29. What are the reason(s) that you are NOT currently involved in an official Greek social organization? (Please check ALL reasons that apply.)

- ☐ A. I was involved but the organization disbanded or was suspended or put on probation.
- ☐ B. I now have alumni status within the organization.
- ☐ C. I hope to join soon.
- ☐ D. I cannot afford to belong.
- ☐ E. It's not worth the money.
- ☐ F. I do not have enough time.
- ☐ G. I do not subscribe to the same values as Greeks.
- ☐ H. I tried to join but was rejected.
- ☐ I. I fear rejection.
- ☐ J. It would interfere with my studies.
- ☐ K. It would interfere with my work schedule.
- ☐ L. It does not appeal to me.
- ☐ M. I do not feel welcome.
- ☐ N. I wouldn't fit in.
- ☐ O. I am unsure how to join.
- ☐ P. I tried it, but I didn't like it.
- ☐ Q. I tried it, but the group pressured me to leave perhaps due to poor grades, financial difficulties or social misconduct.

30. Is your current boyfriend, girlfriend or spouse a current, former or life member/alumni of a Greek organization?

- ☐ Yes: significant other is currently active.
- ☐ Yes: significant other was Greek but no longer belongs.
- ☐ Yes: significant other is a life member or alumni of a Greek organization.
- ☐ No: significant other never was affiliated with the Greek system.
- ☐ No: I currently do not have a significant other.

31. Did your mother belong to a college social sorority?

- ☐ Yes    ☐ No (including if didn't attend college)    ☐ Don't know

32. Did your father belong to a college social fraternity?

- ☐ Yes    ☐ No (including if didn't attend college)    ☐ Don't know

33. Is your closest SAME-SEX friend in Gainesville a member of a fraternity or sorority?

☐ Yes ☐ No

34. If you found out that someone you were interested in dating (or having an affair) were an active member (or alumni) of a Greek social fraternity or sorority, would you be more or less interested in them? (Please circle the response that best expresses your feelings.)

|                              |                                  |                                  |                              |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| much LESS<br>interested<br>1 | somewhat LESS<br>interested<br>2 | somewhat MORE<br>interested<br>3 | much MORE<br>interested<br>4 |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|

35. What is your sex?

☐ Male ☐ Female

If male, please skip to question 38.

36. Have you ever been affiliated with a fraternity's "little sister" program?

☐ Yes, I'm currently participate in such a group.

☐ Yes, I did participate at one time although I no longer do.

☐ No, I never participated in such a group.

If you NEVER participated in such a group, skip to question 38.

37. Was/Is the "little sister" program ...

☐ Primarily black/African-American

☐ Primarily Jewish

☐ Primarily white, non-Jewish

38. What is your race?

☐ Black ☐ White ☐ Asian ☐ Other

39. Are you Hispanic?

☐ Yes ☐ No





47. How often do you attend religious services?

- ☐ Once a week or more
- ☐ Several times a month
- ☐ Several times a semester
- ☐ A few times a year
- ☐ Once a year
- ☐ Never

48. What is your current cumulative (overall) grade point average (GPA)?

- ☐ 3.5 to 4.0
- ☐ 3.0 to 3.4
- ☐ 2.5 to 2.9
- ☐ 2.0 to 2.4
- ☐ 1.5 to 1.9
- ☐ 1.0 to 1.4
- ☐ below 1.0

49. What are the CURRENT occupations of your parents? Please be specific. For example: executive secretary, sales manager, elementary school teacher, pediatrician, homemaker, newspaper editor, construction worker, landscape architect, unemployed, etc.

---

(mother's occupation)

---

(father's occupation)

50. What is the highest level of education your biological or adoptive MOTHER has COMPLETED?

- ☐ Professional degree (Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)
- ☐ Master's degree (MBA, M.A., M.S.)
- ☐ Some graduate school
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (B.S., B.A.)
- ☐ Associate degree (A.A.)
- ☐ Attended college but no degree
- ☐ Completed high school
- ☐ Attended but did not complete high school
- ☐ Did not attend high school

51. What is the highest level of education your biological or adoptive FATHER has COMPLETED?

- ☐ Professional degree (Ph.D., M.D., J.D.)
- ☐ Master's degree (MBA, M.A., M.S.)
- ☐ Some graduate school
- ☐ Bachelor's degree (B.S., B.A.)
- ☐ Associate degree (A.A.)
- ☐ Attended college but no degree
- ☐ Completed high school
- ☐ Attended but did not complete high school
- ☐ Did not attend high school

52. What is your current marital status?

- ☐ Never married
- ☐ Never married but living with my boyfriend or girlfriend
- ☐ Currently married (please skip to question 48)
- ☐ Legally separated/divorced/widowed

53. Are you currently engaged to be married?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Please fill in the blanks for questions 54-58.

54. What is your CURRENT classification at UF? (example: 2LS, 4JM)

---

55. How many brothers or sisters do you have? (Do NOT count yourself.)

\_\_\_\_\_ number of brothers

\_\_\_\_\_ number of sisters

56. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_  
years

57. At what age would you LIKE to get married?

\_\_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_\_ I don't intend to get married  
(fill in age) (check)

OR

I was married (for the first time) at \_\_\_\_\_ but WISH I  
(fill in age)

married at \_\_\_\_\_ (write never if you completely  
regret)  
(fill in age)

58. Have you filled in this questionnaire previously in another class?

\_\_\_ yes \_\_\_ no

If yes, please name the class \_\_\_\_\_

IF YOU WISH TO CONTACT THE STUDENT RESEARCHER, you may do so.

Susan Malone, Ph.D. candidate  
3219 Turlington Hall, Department of Sociology  
(904) 392-0265 - sociology office

THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Again, all of the fraternities and sororities listed below are members of the Panhellenic Council, the Interfraternity Council or the Pan-Hellenic Conference.

If your experiences in a social fraternity or social sorority are from a school other than UF and the Greek organization is NOT listed below, please seek clarification prior to turning in your questionnaire.

Thanks for your cooperation.

MEN'S SOCIAL FRATERNITIES  
AT UF

Alpha Epsilon Pi  
Alpha Gamma Rho  
Alpha Phi Alpha  
Alpha Tau Omega  
Beta Theta Pi  
Chi Phi  
Delta Chi  
Delta Tau Delta  
Kappa Alpha  
Kappa Alpha Psi  
Kappa Sigma  
Lambda Chi Alpha  
Omega Psi Phi  
Phi Beta Sigma  
Phi Delta Theta  
Phi Gamma Delta  
Phi Sigma Kappa  
Phi Kappa Tau  
Pi Kappa Alpha  
Pi Kappa Phi  
Pi Lambda Phi  
Sigma Alpha Mu  
Sigma Chi  
Sigma Alpha Epsilon  
Sigma Nu  
Sigma Pi  
Sigma Phi Epsilon  
Tau Epsilon Phi  
Tau Kappa Epsilon  
Theta Chi  
Zeta Beta Tau

WOMEN'S SOCIAL SORORITIES  
AT UF

Alpha Chi Omega  
Alpha Delta Pi  
Alpha Epsilon Phi  
Alpha Kappa Alpha  
Alpha Omicron Pi  
Alpha Xi Delta  
Chi Omega  
Delta Delta Delta  
Delta Gamma  
Delta Phi Epsilon  
Delta Sigma Theta  
Kappa Alpha Theta  
Kappa Delta  
Kappa Kappa Gamma  
Phi Mu  
Phi Sigma Sigma  
Pi Beta Phi  
Sigma Gamma Rho  
Sigma Kappa  
Zeta Phi Beta  
Zeta Tau Alpha

APPENDIX B

COVER LETTER FOR SURVEY OF SORORITY PRESIDENTS

Department of Sociology  
3219 Turlington Hall  
Gainesville, FL 32611

January 29, 1996

Dear President,

Congratulations on having been selected by your peers to lead your sorority!

With this honor comes the duty of representing your organization to outside inquiries. In this case, I am asking that you please complete the enclosed questionnaire as best you can.

This survey has been approved by the University of Florida Institutional Review Board. I am collecting this data as a part of a Ph.D. dissertation I am writing on the Greek system. Your participation in this survey is voluntary.

I realize that many of your sorority activities and traditions are secret from outsiders. I am not asking you to betray the trust of your sisters. *If there are any questions that you believe cannot be answered without compromising your integrity, please do not hesitate to skip them.* However, I hope that you will agree that the vast majority of the questions should not violate your vows of secrecy.

In some cases perhaps a vague answer might substitute. For example, if you have a special ceremony to honor a sister who has become engaged, you could indicate that your sorority does have a ceremony but withhold the details.

Also, I am not asking you to "tattle" on your sisters. When asking about your sorority's rules, *I am interested to know your **official policies** rather than if they are obeyed.*

When you have finished the survey, please enclose it in the postpaid, pre-addressed envelope provided.

If you have any questions regarding this survey, please call me at 371-5990.

Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Susan Malone  
Sociology Ph.D. candidate

APPENDIX C

SURVEY FOR SORORITY PRESIDENTS

For sorority presidents:

1. How many active sisters and pledges/membership candidates do you currently have?

\_\_\_\_\_ number of sisters

\_\_\_\_\_ number of pledges/membership candidates

2. When an active sister becomes engaged, does your sorority have any traditional ways of announcing or celebrating the event (or ways of teasing her)? (Check all that apply.)

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, we celebrate or announce (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, we tease her (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

3. What if a sister is going steady? Does your sorority have any traditional ways of announcing, celebrating or teasing her? (and is this ceremony performed only if her boyfriend is also Greek?)

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, but only if boyfriend is Greek (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, regardless if boyfriend is Greek (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

4. Does your sorority ever participate in events for charitable causes?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

Comments (optional):

5. Does your sorority ever have woodsmen?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

Comments (optional):

6. Does your sorority ever host a parents' weekend?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

Comments (optional):



7. Does your sorority even participate in political events?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

8. Does your sorority ever have formals? And are they held in Gainesville or out of town?

☐ Yes, we have out-of-town formals.

☐ Yes, we have formals, but only in Gainesville.

☐ No, we don't have formals.

*Comments (optional):*

9. Does your sorority ever hold open parties?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

10. Does your sorority ever hold "date" parties or functions? If so, are they held at the sorority house (if you have one) or at another location?

☐ Yes, we have date functions at our house.

☐ Yes, we have date functions, but we don't have a house (*please skip to question 17*).

☐ Yes, we have date functions, but we often hold them at a location other than our house.

☐ No, we don't have date functions, but we do have a house.

☐ No, we don't have date functions or a house (*please skip to question 17*).

*Comments (optional):*

11. Does your sorority ever hold closed parties with just one or two other fraternities?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

12. Is alcohol allowed to be stored in your sorority house?  
Can it be consumed in your house?

☐ Alcohol can be stored and consumed in our house (provided the sister is of legal age).

☐ Alcohol can be stored but not consumed in our house.

☐ Alcohol cannot be stored or consumed in our house.

*Comments (optional):*

13. Are women and girls allowed to visit residents of your house during the day? What about in the evenings? What about overnight?

☐ Females may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

☐ Females may visit at any time, but they may NOT stay overnight.

☐ Females may visit only through the day and may NOT stay overnight.

☐ Other (please explain)

*Comments (optional):*

14. Are men and boys allowed to visit residents of your house during the day? Does this include family members? What about in the evenings? What about overnight?

*If the male is related to a sister:*

☐ He may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

☐ He may visit at any time, but he may NOT stay overnight.

☐ He may visit only through the day and may NOT stay overnight.

☐ Other (please explain)

*If the male is not related to a sister:*

☐ He may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

☐ He may visit at any time, but he may NOT stay overnight.

☐ He may visit only through the day and may NOT stay overnight.

☐ Other (please explain)

*Comments (optional):*

15. If a house resident won't be staying at the house one night (for example, she is going home for the weekend), does she have to let someone know in advance?

☐ Yes, she must always let a sister know where she will be each evening.

☐ No, she doesn't have to have to let someone know.

*Comments (optional):*

16. Does your sorority have a housemother (or housefather)? (Check all that apply.)

☐ Yes, we have a housemother.

☐ Yes, we have a housefather.

☐ No, we don't have a housemother or a housefather.

*Comments (optional):*

17. Is there an official punishment (such as suspension) for sisters who are caught drinking under age? What about for using illegal drugs such as marijuana or cocaine? (Check all that apply.)

☐ Yes, there is an official punishment for sisters who are caught drinking under age.

☐ Yes, there is an official punishment for sisters who are caught using illegal drugs such as marijuana or cocaine.

☐ No, there is no official drug policy.

☐ No, there is no official alcohol policy.

*Comments (optional):*

18. In your opinion, what is the most unique or special component of your sorority? For example, does your chapter have a special tradition or philosophy you could mention?

19. Would you say that your sorority is comprised primarily of

☐ Women of African-American descent.

☐ Women of Jewish descent.

☐ Women of white, non-Jewish descent.

*Comments (optional):*

Thanks again for your time.

Susan Malone, 3219 Turlington Hall - campus

APPENDIX D

COVER LETTER FOR SURVEY OF FRATERNITY PRESIDENTS

Department of Sociology  
3219 Turlington Hall  
Gainesville, FL 32611

January 29, 1996

Dear President,

Congratulations on having been selected by your peers to lead your fraternity!

With this honor comes the duty of representing your organization to outside inquiries. In this case, I am asking that you please complete the enclosed questionnaire as best you can.

This survey has been approved by the University of Florida Institutional Review Board. I am collecting this data as a part of a Ph.D. dissertation I am writing on the Greek system. Your participation in this survey is voluntary.

I realize that many of your fraternity activities and traditions are secret from outsiders. I am not asking you to betray the trust of your brothers. *If there are any questions that you believe cannot be answered without compromising your integrity, please do not hesitate to skip them.* However, I hope that you will agree that the vast majority of the questions should not violate your vows of secrecy.

In some cases perhaps a vague answer might substitute. For example, if you have a special ceremony to honor a brother who has become engaged, you could indicate that your fraternity does have a ceremony but withhold the details.

Also, I am not asking you to "tattle" on your brothers. When asking about your fraternity's rules, *I am interested to know your **official policies** rather than if they are obeyed.*

When you have finished the survey, please enclose it in the postpaid, pre-addressed envelope provided.

If you have any questions regarding this survey, please call me at 371-5990.

Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Susan Malone  
Sociology Ph.D. candidate

APPENDIX E

SURVEY FOR FRATERNITY PRESIDENTS

For fraternity presidents:

1. How many active brothers and pledges/membership candidates do you currently have?

\_\_\_\_\_ number of brothers      \_\_\_\_\_ number of pledges/membership candidates

2. When an active brother becomes engaged, does your fraternity have any traditional ways of announcing or celebrating the event (or ways of teasing him)?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, we celebrate or announce (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, we tease him (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

3. What if a brother is going steady? Does your fraternity have any traditional ways of announcing, celebrating or teasing him? (and is this ceremony performed only if his girlfriend is also Greek?)

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, but only if girlfriend is Greek (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes, regardless if girlfriend is Greek (please elaborate below).

\_\_\_\_\_ No.

4. Does your fraternity ever participate in events for charitable causes?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

Comments (optional):

5. Does your fraternity ever have woodsmen?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No

Comments (optional):

6. Does your fraternity ever host a parents' weekend?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

7. Does your fraternity ever participate in political events?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

8. Does your fraternity ever have formals? And are they held in Gainesville or out of town?

☐ Yes, we have out-of-town formals.

☐ Yes, we have formals, but only in Gainesville.

☐ No, we don't have formals.

*Comments (optional):*

9. Does your fraternity ever hold open parties?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*

10. Does your fraternity ever hold "date" parties or functions? If so, are they held at the fraternity house (if you have one) or at another location?

☐ Yes, we have date functions at our house.

☐ Yes, we have date functions, but we don't have a house (*please skip to question 17*).

☐ Yes, we have date functions, but we often hold them at a location other than our house.

☐ No, we don't have date functions, but we do have a house.

☐ No, we don't have date functions or a house (*please skip to question 17*).

*Comments (optional):*

11. Does your fraternity ever hold closed parties with just one or two other sororities?

☐ Yes    ☐ No

*Comments (optional):*



12. Is alcohol allowed to be stored in your fraternity house?  
Can it be consumed in your house?

\_\_\_ Alcohol can be stored and consumed in our house (provided the brother is of legal age).

\_\_\_ Alcohol can be stored but not consumed in our house.

\_\_\_ Alcohol cannot be stored or consumed in our house.

*Comments (optional):*

13. Are men and boys allowed to visit residents of your house during the day? What about in the evenings? What about overnight?

\_\_\_ Males may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

\_\_\_ Males may visit at any time, but they may not stay overnight.

\_\_\_ Males may visit only through the day and may not stay overnight.

\_\_\_ Other (please explain)

*Comments (optional):*

14. Are women and girls allowed to visit residents of your house during the day? Does this include family members? What about in the evenings? What about overnight?

*If the female is related to a brother:*

\_\_\_ She may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

\_\_\_ She may visit at any time, but they may NOT stay overnight.

\_\_\_ She may visit only through the day and may NOT stay overnight.

\_\_\_ Other (please explain)

*If the female is NOT related to a brother:*

\_\_\_ She may visit at any time and may stay overnight.

\_\_\_ She may visit at any time, but she may NOT stay overnight.

\_\_\_ She may visit only through the day and may NOT stay overnight.

\_\_\_ Other (please explain)

*Comments (optional):*

15. If a house resident won't be staying at the house one night (for example, he is going home for the weekend), does he have to let someone know in advance?

\_\_\_ Yes, he must always let a brother know where she will be each evening.

\_\_\_ No, he doesn't have to have to let someone know.

*Comments (optional):*

16. Does your fraternity have a housemother (or housefather)? (Check all that apply.)

\_\_\_ Yes, we have a housemother.

\_\_\_ Yes, we have a housefather.

\_\_\_ No, we don't have a housemother or a housefather.

*Comments (optional):*

17. Is there an official punishment (such as suspension) for brothers who are caught drinking under age? What about for using illegal drugs such as marijuana or cocaine? (Check all that apply.)

\_\_\_ Yes, there is an official punishment for brothers who are caught drinking under age.

\_\_\_ Yes, there is an official punishment for brothers who are caught using illegal drugs such as marijuana or cocaine.

\_\_\_ No, there is no official drug policy.

\_\_\_ No, there is no official alcohol policy.

*Comments (optional):*

18. In your opinion, what is the most unique or special component of your fraternity? For example, does your chapter have a special tradition or philosophy you could mention?

19. Would you say that your fraternity is comprised primarily of

\_\_\_ Men of African-American descent.

\_\_\_ Men of Jewish descent.

\_\_\_ Men of white, non-Jewish descent.

*Comments (optional):*

Thanks again for your time.

Susan Malone, 3219 Turlington Hall - campus

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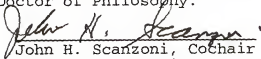
## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Susan Carole Malone was born in Greensburg, Pa. on Feb. 7, 1967. She grew up in Ruffsedale, Pa. and graduated with honors from Southmoreland High School (Alverton, Pa.) in 1985. She attended West Virginia University where she served as managing editor of the school newspaper, The Daily Athenaeum, her senior year. She graduated *cum laude* with a Bachelor of Science in Journalism degree (BSJ) from WVU in 1989 and received a Master of Arts degree (MA) in journalism from the University of Maryland at College Park in 1990. Her thesis topic at UMCP was "The Portrayal of Men in Magazine Advertising from 1959-1990: A Content Analysis." She left her position in sales research at USA TODAY in Arlington, Va. to to attend the University of Florida to pursue a Ph.D. in sociology. While at UF she has had the opportunity to work as a graduate research assistant for the Institute for Health Policy Research and the Department of Educational Leadership. She also has worked as a graduate teaching assistant in the Department of Home Economics and has taught at both Santa Fe Community College and the University of Florida. And since 1991 she has served as an elected member of the Board of Directors for the Independent Florida Alligator.

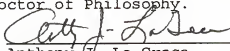
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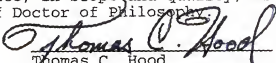
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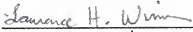
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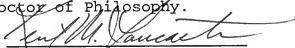
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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